A. G. WRIGLEY.

No. 409

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/ecclesiasticalhi0001john_j1o4

KING ALFRED'S COLLEGE
WINCHESTER

To be returned on or before the day marked below:—

WITHDRAWN FROM
THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
WINCHESTER

PLEASE ENTER ON ISSUE SLIP:

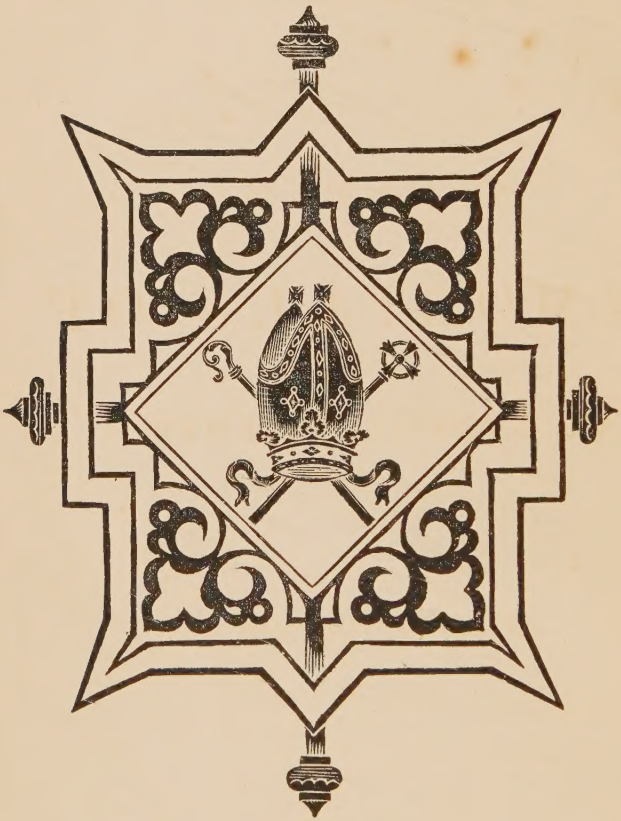
THOR STRYPE

TLE Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer vol.1

CESSION No. 102535

KA 0144720 3

Ecclesiastical History Society.



Established for the publication and republication of Church Histories, &c. 1847.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES
LEYTON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

STRYPE'S MEMORIALS OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY T. COMBE, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,

FOR THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XLVIII.

KING ALFRED'S COLLEGE
WINCHESTER

283·42
STR

102535

CH1 70 96 4A

MEMORIALS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

WHEREIN

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT, DURING THE PRIMACY OF THE SAID ARCHBISHOP, ARE GREATLY ILLUSTRATED; AND MANY SINGULAR MATTERS RELATING THEREUNTO, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED (1694.) IN THREE BOOKS.

COLLECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC LETTERS, AND OTHER ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY

JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

VOL. I.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY T. COMBE, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,

FOR THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

1848.

LEYTON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
LOC. | CLASS No. | CAT. | S.C.
RS B.CRA
ACCESS No. | CAT. | DATE
16641
CH 1.709.64
WITHDRAWN

PREFACE.

THE present volume contains the first book of Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, and follows the edition published A. D. 1694, in folio, containing three Books with an Appendix.

In this edition illustrative notes have been added, and the passages referred to by the author are printed for the most part in full. That portion of the Appendix, which relates to the times treated of in the first book, is also given to render the volume complete in itself, and to avoid the delay which would necessarily have been occasioned, had the appearance of the entire Appendix been deferred until the completion of the work itself. Under such an arrangement it must have been printed in a separate volume, and the reader would have been unavoidably

deprived of much of the interest he may now derive from being able to consult those materials to which the author refers, as having assisted him in the prosecution of his labors. The documents, contained in the edition of A. D. 1694, have also been verified, as far as it has been possible, and more correct references added, wherever it appeared needful. A few additional papers from the Cotton, and other MSS. &c. have likewise been inserted, whenever they seemed calculated to throw light upon the times treated of by the author. They will be distinguished as printed between brackets, and marked by an *. The modern mode of spelling has likewise been in most instances adopted, to render the work more acceptable to the general reader, care being had to avoid any such alteration as might endanger the original meaning.

The editor had purposed to append in full in this volume, from the C. C. C. Cambridge MSS., the passages, of which archbishop Cranmer merely gives the heads and an abstract, in his "Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law;" but delay having unexpectedly occurred in procuring from the continent the last authorized version of the "Corpus Juris Canonici" he is compelled to defer its appearance to one of the succeeding volumes.

In conclusion, the Editor would avail himself of this means of expressing his acknowledgments for the kind assistance rendered to him by the Very Rev. the Dean of Bristol, Master of C. C. C. Cambridge; the Rev. B. Bandinel, D. D. Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Rev. W. H. Cox, B. D. Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, the Rev. A. Hackman, M. A. of Christ Church, Oxford, and Mr. Sibley, of the Pitt Press, Cambridge. His best thanks are also due to the Rev. J. J. Smith, A. M. fellow and tutor of Caius Coll. Cambridge, for the loan of a volume of original MS. letters, from the suggestions of which Strype arranged and prepared the greater portion of his works.

Ecclesiastical History Society's Office,
Strand, London.

Dec. 31, 1847.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES
LEYTON

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN,[a]

BY THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN;

AND

ONE OF THEIR MAJESTIES' MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it please your Grace,

To pardon the presumption of the obscure person that dedicates this book to your grace, for the sake of the renowned man it treats of, viz., one of your illustrious predecessors, an archbishop of Canterbury, that hath deserved so eminently of that see, nay, and of the whole British Church; I may say, that deserved best of any archbishop before him that wore that

[a] ["John Tillotson, S.T.P., was nominated by the king in council (3 Will. and Mar.) April 23, 1691; a *congé d'élire* granted May 1, elected the 16th, confirmed in the church of S. Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside, London, the 28th, and consecrated there the 31st of the same month. He died Nov. 22, 1694, and was buried in the church of S. Lawrence, Jewry, London. Reg. Cant." Le Neve's Fasti, p. 9. ed. Lond. 1716.]

mitre. To whose solid learning, deliberation, and indefatigable pains, both the kings and people of this realm owe their deliverance from the long and cruel bondage of Rome. For it is true what the Romanists say in obloquy of this archbishop, and we Protestants say it to his eternal fame, that he was the first of all the archbishops of Canterbury that made a defection from the papal chair; thereby vindicating this crown from a base dependence upon a foreign jurisdiction. But whereas Parsons saith, that "this was the first change of religion in any archbishop of Canterbury from the beginning unto his days[b];" this is not so true; for sundry of archbishop Cranmer's predecessors, (to look no further than two or three hundred years backward), were of different judgments from the Church of Rome in some points. His immediate predecessor, Warham, approved of the king's title of supreme head of the church under Christ, in his own kingdom, against the doctrine of the pope's universal authority[c]. And a century of years before

In his Three Conversions.

[b] [Parsons' Three Conversions of England, part 1. chap. xi. num. 27. p. 227. ed. 1603.]

[c] [See Examination of abp. Cranmer before Brooks. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1875. ed. Lond. 1583. Archbishop Parker gives the following account of the first admission of the king's supremacy by the clergy:—"Clerus Anglicanus, qui Cardinali [Wolseio] ut Romani pontificis legato obtemperabant, ob admissam receptamque papæ potestatem actione de *præmunire* teneri putabatur. Cujus vi proscribi, et cum bonis atque mem-

him, archbishop Chichely, though he were made the pope's legate, refused to exercise his power legantine[d], further than he should be authorized

bris adjudicari regi debuit, nisi rex misertus esset. Itaque in superiori synodo, — consilium iniit clerus de tam dira pœna redimenda—At rex, qui solus regnare, nec divisum et dispertitum de clero ac populo suo gubernando cum papa officium amplius gerere voluit, non alia conditione hac oblata pecunia redimere clerum voluit, quam si se solum suum totiusque populi proxime ac secundum Christum protectorem *supremumque caput* in ea synodo agnoscerent. Hujus consilii Cranmerus et Cromwellus clam authores fuisse existimabant-[ur]. Clerus animo toto jam obstupuit, nondum enim quid sibi hic novus vellet titulus, aut quorsum tenderet, prospexit. Sed nasuti quidem olfecerunt rei exitum, inter quos fuisse Warhamum archiepiscopum, ex his quæ mox dicemus, verisimile est. Magnæ res, deliberatum diu, procrastinationes et prorogationes crebræ; disputatum sæpius,—Tandem archiepiscopus, cum exquisivisset præsulum de ea re sententias, ac plerique siluissent: 'Qui tacet,' inquit, 'consentire videtur:' responsumque illico fuit. 'Ergo tacemus omnes.' Verum postea, cum neque tutum, neque e gravitate synodi fore cernerent sic illudere regi, frequentes ierunt in sententiam his verbis conceptam. 'Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem, supremum dominum, et, quantum per Christi leges licet, etiam supremum caput, regiam majestatem agnoscimus.'" (See Parker, Ant. Eccles. Brit. Warham, pp. 379, 80. ed. 1572; Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 725; Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 227. ed. Oxon. 1829.) This resolution was voted on the 11th Feb. 1531. But the title of Supreme Head was not given to the king by act of parliament till 1534; (Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. i.) Nor does it appear to have been acknowledged by the Universities before that year. Wilkins, ibid. pp. 771, 775; Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. App. B. ii. No. 27, p. 72; State Papers, vol. i. p. 425.]

[d] [See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 339 et sqq. ed. London, 1840, 41.]

thereunto by the king. And archbishop Islip, as long before him, disliked of dissolving those marriages that were contracted by such as had before vowed the single life. For though he laid a punishment upon a countess of Kent, who being a widow, and then professed, afterwards secretly married to a certain knight, named Abricourt; yet he divorced them not, but permitted them to live together[e]. And the judgment of archbishop Arundel, who lived in king Richard the Second's reign, was for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and for the laity's use thereof. For he, preaching the funeral sermon of queen Anne, the beloved wife of that king, after she deceased at Sheen, in the year 1392, commended her, as for her other virtuous accomplishments, so particularly for her study of the Holy Scriptures, and of the sense of them; and for having them in the vulgar tongue[f]; as I find by an ancient MS. fragment, writ near three hundred years ago, formerly belonging to the church of Worcester, in these words following:—

E Foxii MSS.

"Also the bishop of Canterbury, Thomas of "Arundel, that now is, say a sermon at West-"minster, thereas was many an hundred of "people, at the burying of queen Anne, (of "whose soul God have mercy.) And in his "commendation of her he said, That it was

[e] [Id. vol. iii. p. 126.]

[f] [Id. vol. iii. p. 301.]

"more joy of her than of any woman that "ever he knew. For, notwithstanding that she "was alien born, [being the daughter of the "emperor Charles IV.], she had in English all "the four Gospels, with the doctors upon them. "And he said, that she sent them unto him. "And he said, that they were good and true, "and commended her, in that she was so great "a lady, and also an alien, and would study so "holy, so virtuous books. And he blamed in "his sermon sharply the negligence of the pre-"lates, and other men," &c.[g]

So that it is not true what Parsons saith, if he mean that no archbishops of Canterbury before Cranmer varied from the church of Rome in any of her doctrines. But true it is, though not so much to their credits, that none of them, however sensible they were of the Roman errors and superstitions, did in good earnest bestir themselves to set this church free of them, before our above-named archbishop, (being the eighty-sixth from Augustine the monk), resolutely and bravely

[g] [Harl. MSS. 425. fol. 1. wherein is added the following MSS. note in the author's handwriting:—"Abp. Usher in his Dissertatio de Scripturis Sacris Vernaculis, published by Mr. Wharton, at the year 1410 mentions, under Anglus Anonymus, this fragment. I quoted some part of it, beginning at 'Auditum est a Germano quodam,' and ending at the mention of bishop Arundel's sermon, but without repeating what is here said of it. J. S."]

undertook and effected it. Indeed they spent not their zeal, their treasure, and their interest this way so much, as in contending about superiority and their prerogatives, in exempting their clergy from the cognizance of the temporal magistrate, in applications to and courting of the bishops of Rome, in persecuting those they called heretics, in eternizing their own names by founding religious houses, and building stately palaces and shrines, and in exhibiting themselves in great worldly pomp and appearance.

But blessed be God for archbishop Cranmer; by means of whose reformation succeeded a series of better, though not so splendid archbishops. Who made conscience of minding things more suitable to their high vocation, and the spiritual trust committed to them: men that regarded little or nothing the vain shows of exterior grandeur and glory, nor sought great things for themselves, but with their great predecessor St. Paul, (on whom lay the care of all the churches[h]), spent and wore out themselves in the restoration of the kingdom of Christ, so happily begun by the said archbishop Cranmer in this Island. Such were Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, the three first protestant archbishops next after him; what he planted they watered, and God gave a blessed increase to. Whose most excellent

[h] [2 Cor. xi. 28.]

lives and conducts in the government of this church, as well as in their own more private and domestic conversation; their rare piety, prudence, patience, courage, and activity, I can scarcely temper my pen from making excursions into. Of which I could fill even volumes (had I leisure, favour, and countenance) from those large collections which I have for divers years been storing up with great delight, partly out of their own original letters, and partly from other MSS. in their times.

But besides these first archbishops during the long reign of queen Elizabeth, who by their care and diligence established and settled that reformation, of which archbishop Cranmer laid the first stones, we are beholden unto the same archbishop for all the rest of the worthy and painful prelates of that metropolitical see, who have taken care of this excellently reformed church, even unto your grace. Whose deserts towards this church and the reformation, have raised you to sit in archbishop Cranmer's chair; though with as much reluctancy in you as was in him. Of your grace's endowments to qualify you for this most eminent station, I will be wholly silent; knowing how abhorrent your generous nature is from reading or hearing your own commendations.

Nor, my lord, is this my end in this my dedi-

cation: but this it is, that you would so far encourage these my weak and imperfect labours, (done out of a good intent), as to cast a favourable eye upon them, for the sake of your glorious predecessor, the subject of this book; and to repute me among the number,

May it please your grace,

Of your most humble
and most obedient servants,

JOHN STRYPE.

PREFACE

[TO THE FIRST EDITION.]

I THINK it fit, by way of preface to these Memorials, to admonish the reader of a few things preparatory to the perusal thereof: as, what it was put me at first upon making these collections concerning archbishop Cranmer, and the state of the church in his time; what induced me to make them public; and what credit may be given to them: with some other occasional matters.

I. As to the first, I have been for a long time not a little addicted to read whatsoever I could of the reformation of this famous church; that I might truly understand, for what reasons it was first attempted; in what methods it proceeded; by what men it was chiefly managed and carried on; and how it stood in truth as to its doctrine, discipline and government, reputation, learning, piety, and such like, in its first establishment, and the earlier times of it. For which purpose I did not only read over what we have in print of these matters, but for more

satisfaction I was carried on to look into MSS. whether registers, records, letters, instruments, and such like: a great sort of which by Providence fell into my hands. And besides them, I have turned over many more in libraries and elsewhere; from whence I made transcriptions, extracts, and collections, for my own use and satisfaction; which swelled to no little bulk. And while I was doing this, I took always a more curious view into the lives, manners, and doings, learning, virtues, and abilities of the chief leading men, whether archbishops and bishops, or other churchmen; of whom we have but little account extant, though many of them very great and good men; little more remaining of some of them than their names.

The reverence I bore in my mind to archbishop Cranmer, the father of the reformation here in England, and the first of that ancient metropolitan see, that so bravely shook off the pope and his appendages, inclined me especially to gather up what notices I could of him. Afterwards, as my leisure served me, out of my indigested mass of notes, I compiled into some order memorials of him, and of the affairs of the church during his primacy; in which he for the most part was concerned, and bore a great share with king Henry, and the lord Crumwel, his vicegerent in spirituals. After some years, these memorials lying by me, I enlarged considerably, and digested them into annals, and had thoughts of making them public, being excited and encouraged

thereunto by my friends, who were privy to these my doings.

II. And indeed many considerations induced me hereunto: as, in general, the great benefit of reading histories of former times; which what that is, take in the words of John Foxe, "For the things which be first are to be preferred before those which be later, and then is the reading of histories much necessary in the church, to know what went before, and what followed after. And therefore not without cause, history in old authors is called the witness of times, the light of verity, the life of memory, the teacher of life, and shewer of antiquity: without the knowledge whereof man's life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error, as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later times of the church, whenas the bishops of Rome, under colour of antiquity, have turned truth into heresy, and brought in such new-found devices of strange doctrine and religion, as in the former ages of the church were never heard of: and all through ignorance of times, and for lack of true history[a]. And therefore the use of history being so

In his Protestation to the whole Church of England.

[a] ["For if the things which be first, (after the rule of Tertullian), are to be preferred before those that be latter, then is the reading of histories much necessary in the church, to know what went before, and what followed after. And therefore not without cause 'Historia,' in old authors, is called the witness of times, the light of verity, the life of memory, teacher of life, and shewer of antiquity," &c. Without the

considerable, historians in some kingdoms have been maintained by public encouragement. And so the writer of the epistle to king Edward, before Erasmus' Paraphrase Englished, propounded once to that king, 'that there should be a public salary allotted to some able persons to translate good books, and to write chronicles for bestowing so great a benefit on the commonwealth[b].'"

But particularly the history of the church, and matters relating to religion, have a more special

knowledge whereof man's life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error, as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate latter times of the church, when as the bishops of Rome under color of antiquity have turned truth into heresy and brought such new-found devices of strange doctrine and religion as in the former age of the church were never heard of before, and all through the ignorance of times, and for lack of true history."—A Protestation of the whole Church of England, prefixed to Foxe's Acts and Monuments, ed. Lond. 1583.]

[b] ["Yet can I not but wish that among so many your majesty's most ample and bounteous exhibitions, and so many other godly acts to be done as are daily brought and offered to the gracious direction of your highness, of your most dear uncle being governor of your royal person during this time of your minority, and under your majesty our Protector, and of the other your most honourable counsellors, this thing also might be preferred to your considerations, how necessary a thing it were that some able, worthy, and meet persons for doing such public benefit to the common weal as translating of good works, and writing of chronicles, might by some good provision and means have some condign sustentation in the same."—Preface to the king's majesty prefixed to Erasmus' Paraphrase Englished, vol. i. fol. xi. ed. Lond. (Whitchurch) 1548.]

benefit, as being conversant about spiritual things, which are weightier by far, and concern us more a great deal than temporal. But the more is the pity in this sort of history there is a greater defect than in the other; I speak of our own nation; for though the history of the state in the last age was excellently done by the pens of the lord Herbert and Mr. Camden; yet the matters of the church they professedly declined, or did but touch at; the former saying expressly "His intention was not in an history to discuss theological matters, as holding it sufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted." And the latter in his history, as often as he came to matters of the church, tells us that "he left his readers to the Ecclesiastical historian." Which hath made me wonder at and apt to accuse the slothfulness of that age, that during all the time of king Henry, king Edward, and queen Mary, wherein religion was so tossed about, and took up so much of those reigns, there is no one ecclesiastical history thereof written, except that of the diligent and learned Mr. Foxe; and during the long reign of queen Elizabeth and king James, I think none at all; till of late years, when by length of time and destruction of many original MSS. by the civil wars, divers remarkable transactions were buried and lost, some few learned men employed themselves in collecting and publishing what memorials of religion and the church they could retrieve; as namely, Dr. Fuller, Dr. Heylin, and

Pag. 418. ed. 1672.

especially Dr. Burnet, now the right reverend bishop of Sarum; to whom the English Church must be ever beholden for his great and happy pains contributed hereunto. But yet there be good gleanings after these writers; and many things of remark there are relating to the church in those three busy reigns of Henry, Edward, and Mary, whereof these historians are either wholly silent, or speak imperfectly or erroneously: some whereof in my searches I have met with; which I have disposed in these Memorials.

But besides the general benefit of history, especially ecclesiastical, this particular history now recommended unto the English nation may produce this good effect, to make us value and esteem as we ought our reformed religion, when we see by what just and fair ways it went on, and how it prevailed like Christianity at first, notwithstanding the great opposition it met with, and what sort of men they were, such as Gardiner and Boner, who especially set themselves to stop it.

Moreover, reading the lives of exemplary men, and such as were famous in their generation, hath a great virtue in it, to influence the manners of men. Their wise sayings, their discreet behaviour, their just management of matters committed to their trust; their zeal, their charity, their awe of God, their contempt of the world and such like, are not only delightful to read or hear, but do insensibly instil into men's minds a secret approba-

tion thereof, and draw them on to an imitation. This land hath produced many admirable men; the knowledge of whom and the benefit of whose examples is utterly lost, for want of some writers to leave their memory unto the world. It was a thing complained of in the last age, "that as that age abounded more in writers than any age before it, so there were very few that set themselves to pen the lives of excellent men; as Samuel, the learned and worthy son of John Foxe, spake: but he ever thought it, as he said, most unjust, notwithstanding, to deprive the world of the memory of matters done by them, by whose labours and worthy deeds the common state of the country was so much bettered." And if the use of history, as the same author saith, is to form the lives and manners of men, that being the chief end of history; then I add, no part of history doth more promote this than the history of the deeds of famous men.

Life of John Foxe.

It was another great inducement to me to let this work see the light, to be grateful to the memory of this holy prelate that hath so well deserved of this church; and to whom under God she oweth that excellent constitution and reformed state in which she is; which cost him so dear, so many pensive thoughts, so many long hours' study, so many consultations and debates with learned men, so much correspondence abroad, so many speeches, arguments and strugglings in the parliament, in the convocation, before the king, the

clergy, the people; so much danger, and trouble, and envy, and reproach, and at last his dearest blood. Posterity would be highly injurious to such a person as this, if he should not be recorded with all due respect and honour. It was a commendable practice of the ancient Persians, to write in records the names and good deeds of such as had deserved well of the king and kingdom, to remain for ever. And these records kings themselves did sometimes use to read. The king Ahasuerus called one night for them to be read to him, to entertain his waking hours, (Esther vi.); and Xerxes, in an epistle of his to Pausanias, extant in Thucydides, told him, that "his good deed was upon record in his palace for ever[d]." For these records were esteemed so precious, that they were kept within the walls of the palace. And this custom of writing up the remembrance of men of merit seemed also to be among the Jews. Thus it is said of Judas Maccabeus, that "the remembrance of him was for a blessing for ever." To which does, I suppose, סֵפֶר זִכָּרוֹן that "book of remembrance," or record, allude, (in Mal. iii. 16.) "that was written for those that feared God, and thought on his name." And surely it is agreeable to God's will that this piece of gratitude should be shewn to men of singular virtue deceased, to keep their names and good deeds upon record, for posterity to know and to thank God for.

Κείσεταί σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ εἰς ἀεὶ ἀνάγραπτος.

Ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ εἰς εὐλογίαν, 1 Macc. iii. 7.

[d] [Thucydides, lib. i. cap. 129.]

And this office of love and duty seems highly convenient to be done towards archbishop Cranmer, that something might appear in the world for his vindication, under those many base aspersions and lying insinuations that are and have been printed by papists to defame and blacken him to posterity. One of them hath these words, (which shew that he cared not what he said, so he might but throw his dirt upon the chief lights of the reformation), "The very pillars of this rank, [which he names to be] Luther, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Farrar, Taylor, Tyndal, all married priests and friars, [but some of them were never friars, and others never married,] were men given to their sensualities, both of women, and other like their commodities, after the fashion of other ordinary men. Neither is there recounted any one eminent action in all their lives, that I have read, either of chastening their bodies, mortifying their appetites, contemning the world and the pleasures thereof, while they might have and use the same; or finally, any more excellent spirit in them above the rest, or of any supernatural concurrence of God with their actions in any one thing." But did he converse so much in Foxe, as to undertake in one or two books to answer and confute him and his martyrs; and yet doth he meet with nothing there of none of these men in that martyrology, but what was "ordinary to other men," and that shewed not some "more excellent spirit"

Parson's Three Conversions, part iii. p. 84.

to be in them? It is a sign he read but little there, or read with a cankered mind. This ensuing book shall effectually confute these misreports and slanders of Cranmer, one of these pillars, as he calls them; and shall abundantly make it appear, that he was no sensualist, nor addicted (notwithstanding his high place) to the pleasures and commodities of this world; and that his life shone bright by his many eminent actions of piety, mortification, contempt of the world; and that he was of a "more excellent spirit" than that of the ordinary rank of men; and that for some ages there scarce arose his fellow; and, finally, that he must needs have some "supernatural concurrence" and mighty aid of God's grace with him, in many of the affairs that passed through his hands.

III. The third thing remains, (which is indeed the main matter that makes an history of any account), and that is, what credit may be given to what I have writ: for if it stand not upon the foot of truth, it is not history, but a romance, a legend, a mere tale. And here I remember what John Foxe said to Alan Cope, concerning an history-controller, which is as true of an history-writer: "If you will be a controller in story-matters,—diligence is required, and great searching out of books and authors, not only of our time, but of all ages, and especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church; it is not sufficient to say what Fabian

Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 532. edit. 1610.

or what Hall saith, but the records must be sought, the registers must be turned over: letters also and ancient instruments ought to be perused, and authors with the same compared; finally, the writers among themselves one to be compared with another; and so with judgment [matters are] to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with simplicity, pure from all addiction and partiality, to be uttered.[e]"

Now to measure myself with this: diligence and faithfulness, I trust, hath not been wanting in me: I have been governed by a hearty desire and love of truth; I have read over such printed books as are of the best credit and vogue, and I have often compared them with good MSS. especially when I have had occasion to make use of them; which I have done but sparingly and briefly, that I might not cumber the book with what hath been known and written afore. But the collections I have here made, and do publish to the world, are chiefly from manuscript records, registers, letters, orders of council, original and authentic. For, besides archbishop Cranmer's register, in a great folio, in which I have bestowed some considerable time, I have had the perusal of several rare papers, (volumes I may say), of sir John Cotton, preserved in his invaluable library[f]; and of archbishop Parker, that great antiquarian, collected by him, and now remaining in

[e] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 578. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[f] [These MSS. are now preserved in the British Museum.]

the private library of Benet College in Cambridge[g]: among which there is a writing, intituled, "A declaration concerning the progeny, with the manners and trade of life, and bringing up, of the most reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and by what order and means he came to his preferments and dignities." Which I perceive was drawn up by Cranmer's secretary, at the desire of archbishop Parker, and for his use. I have been conversant in what remaineth of the papers of John Foxe, communicated to me by the favour of my good friend William Willys, of Hackney, esquire. Among which there is a MS. life of Cranmer: Annals, writ by an Augustine monk of Canterbury, from the year 1532, to 1538: many letters of Foxe and other learned men to him, relating to the affairs or afflictions of the church in those times; and abundance more, too long here to he inserted[h]. I have consulted also many MSS. of great worth, originally belonging to the lord treasurer Burleigh's secretary, imparted to me by sir William Hickes, of Low-Leyton in Essex, knight and baronet: wherein are divers of archbishop Cranmer's letters, written by his own pen. By the kindness of the reverend Mr. Nicolas Battely of Kent, and his great readiness and zeal to forward my design, I have received a great many material "excerpta" out of the

[g] [i. e. C.C.C.C.]

[h] [These MSS. were purchased by the trustees of the British Museum, and are now preserved in the Harleian Collection.]

registers and records of the cathedral church of Canterbury, and out of other books and MSS. William Petyt of the Inner-Temple, esquire, and keeper of the Tower records, did with great humanity communicate unto me his collection of excellent papers, contained in two large volumes: which though in these Memorials I have made but little use of, yet may be admirably subservient to me, or whosoever's lot else it may happen to fall to, to give the world some account of queen Elizabeth's archbishops, and the church affairs in their times. In this catalogue of friends and assistants, I must mention also the reverend Dr. Thomas Smith, and Mr. Henry Wharton; Mr. Laughton, keeper of the public library in Cambridge, and Mr. Harrison, fellow of Sidney college in that university. Unto all these gentlemen now named, I do here, (as I ought in gratitude), publicly acknowledge myself beholden.

I did also consult the MS. library at Lambeth, by the favorable permission of the last[i], and the present archbishop of Canterbury[k]. But though there be divers shelves of very choice MSS., yet I found little or nothing there serviceable to my purpose; unless it should please God to lengthen my life and health to write in this method concerning archbishop Whitgift. Neither was I successful in inquiries which I procured friends to make, from such as were relations of the archbi-

[i] [Abp. Sancroft.]

[k] [Abp. Tillotson.]

shop, in any matters or notices concerning him. There is one Mr. Cartwright of Nottinghamshire, that is an heir of that ancient family of the Cranmers, a worthy gentleman, and now, or late, justice of the peace for that county; who, being made acquainted with my design, and moved to impart any letters or writings that might be of use thereunto, answered a friend, that he was plundered in the late civil wars of abundance of papers, and not a few to that effect; but that now he had not anything left to contribute, but his own good wishes to the undertaker.

But still further, for the better satisfying the readers in the truth of what I write, I have, according to a good practice first begun by Mr. Somner of Canterbury, cast the most material records and original letters together by themselves in an Appendix[1], that those that please may read them there, rather than in the body of the story, where it might too much interrupt the thread of the discourse, and make the reading more tedious. Which Appendix will serve both as a proof of the history, and moreover as a repository for many choice monuments of antiquity; which otherwise, being in loose papers and private studies, might in time be utterly extinguished, and irrecoverably lost.

In his Antiq. of Canterb.

And I do here protest once for all, that I have

[1] [See Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury. App. ed. Lond. 1640.]

have not inserted into this book any one single historical passage out of mine own head, but such as I have either found in some credible published history, or in some old book printed in those times, or the prefaces and epistles to them; or, lastly, in some good MS. or other.

I have digested these Memorials into Annals, and have laid matters under their respective years and months and days, as near as I could: sometimes indeed I have been left to conjecture at the true time, which I have done with as much care and exactness, as by considering all circumstances I could. Yet herein I am not so confident, but that I may sometimes perhaps make a mistake. And if I do so, it will, I hope, be excused to me, considering that I was fain oftentimes to go by guess, (grounded however upon the best probability I could make), the papers I used being not seldom without date, sometimes of the year, sometimes of the month, and sometimes of both.

I thought it not amiss, (though I have not observed it done in any other history), to set down under every year what bishops, diocesan and suffragan, were consecrated in the province of Canterbury, and by whom. And I am jealous some of the suffragans may be omitted by me; which defect must be attributed to the registers rather than to me. I have taken particular heed to the convocations, and to what was done in them. And because the affairs of the English church have such

a near relation unto the archbishops of the church, so as their histories are but maimed and imperfect, without some respect had to those affairs, I have diligently interwoven many ecclesiastical emergencies into this history; and a great many more I have been forced to omit, though well worthy the public, lest the volume might swell too much.

If any might perhaps deem this a needless work, the life of this archbishop having been writ already in the Book of Martyrs,[m] and the British Antiquities;[n] I answer such, that I have therefore been short, and it may be silent in some things more fully and largely treated of elsewhere: but here are numberless notices given concerning the archbishop, some [of] which are nowhere else, [and] others very imperfectly, observed; besides the Narrations of the State and History of the Church, (which are every where interposed), in most of which the archbishop bore a part.

The cathedral church of Canterbury, now called Christ Church, I have in some places styled Trinity Church, because I so find it named in those particular records I made use of in those places; and it seems in some of the first years of our archbishop it ordinarily went by that old name.

My style may seem rough and unpolished, and the phrases here and there uncouth; the reason

[m] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1859 et sqq. ed. 1583, in which will be found many particulars relative to the life of archbishop Cranmer.]

[n] [Parker, Antiq. Eccl. Brit. pp. 381—405. ed. 1572.]

of which is, because I confess I have often taken the very expressions and words of the papers I have used; and so may fall sometimes into obsolete terms, and a style not so acceptable to the present age, whose language is refined from what it was an hundred and fifty or forty years ago. But I have chosen to do this, that I might keep the nearer truth, and lest that by varying of the language, I might perhaps sometimes vary from the true meaning of my writer. And in truth, he that is a lover of antiquity loves the very language and phrases of antiquity.

The reader will find some few things here, which are already published in the late Specimen put forth by Anthony Harmer; he and I, it seems, lighting unwittingly upon the same records, to wit, king Edward's Council Book, and the Register of Christ Church, Canterbury. Nor could I strike out of my book what I found published in the said Specimen, having fully finished it, and the copy being under the press some weeks before that book came forth, and the matters there related interwoven into the contexture of my history.

And now after all this pains that I have taken in fulfilling this task, (which I assure the readers have not been small, nor of a few years), let me not for every little slip fall under their censure and reproach, but rather let them use me with gentleness and charity; considering how few, though much abler, will trouble themselves to

labour and drudge, and take journeys, and be at expenses in making such collections for the public good. It calls to mind what happened upon the death of the laborious antiquary, John Stow, who had been a collector of matters for the English history seven and forty years, and died 1605; and had all the collections of Reiner Wolf, (another historian, and a printer in king Edward the Sixth's days), and if he had lived but one year longer, intended to have published his long labours: but after his death there was not a man to be found to take the small pains to review his papers, and fit them for the press: many indeed were talked of to do it, both persons of quality among the laity and clergy, (for the world had great and earnest expectation to see Stow in print), but when they were spoke to, to take the good work in hand, some of them said, That they thought the giving out of their names was rather done by secret enemies, on purpose to draw them into capital displeasure, and to bring their names and lives into a general question. Others said, that they who did such a work must flatter, which they could not, neither wilfully would they leave a scandal unto their posterity. Another said, he could not see how, in any civil action, a man should spend his travel, time, and money worse than in that which acquires no regard or reward, except backbiting and detraction. And one among the rest swore an oath, and said, he thanked God

that he was not yet mad, to waste his time, spend two hundred pounds a year, (which it seems Stow had done), trouble himself and all his friends, only to gain assurance of endless reproach, loss of liberty, and bring all his days in question. Yet at last, one Edward Howes[o] undertook it, and effected it: but it happened just so to him, having been intolerably abused and scandalized for his labour. So slothful and backward are most to take pains in works of this nature, and so apt to censure those that do. I hope I shall meet, (if not with thanks, at least), with more candid men, and better usage.

But whatever happens, I shall arm myself with patience to undergo it, since I intend nothing hereby, but to be serviceable unto my country and God's church, and to justify the excellent reformation of it in these kingdoms; and finally, to do right unto the memory of that truly great and good archbishop of Canterbury. And thus recommending the success of this work unto God's blessing, I here make an end.

J. Strype.

Sept. 29, 1693.
Low Leyton.

I desire the reader to take notice, that when I quote Foxe's Acts and Monuments, it is the edition in the year 1610: and when the Life of king Henry VIII., by the lord Herbert, it is the edition of 1672: and when the History of the Reformation, by bishop Burnet, it is that of the year 1681. Farewell.

[o] [The first edition was published Lond. 1615.]

CONTENTS OF BOOK I.

OF THE

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

CHAPTER I.

Cranmer's birth, education, and rise.

A worthy work to revive his memory. His family account of his younger years. Sent to Cambridge, anno 1503. Sets himself to study the Scripture. Is made doctor of divinity. Marries. Refuses to go to Wolsey's college, Oxon. He is made one of the university examiners. The king's great cause first proposed to the universities. The occasion of his rise. His opinion of the king's cause. The king sends for him. Suitably placed with the earl of Ormond. Friendship and correspondence between the earl and Cranmer. A providence in his being placed here. Cranmer disputes at Cambridge. Grows dear to the king and his court. . . . . 1—10.

Anno 1489, 1503, 1511, 1516, 1523, 1529, 1530.

CHAPTER II.

Pole's book about the king's matrimony.

Pole's book against the king's dissolving his marriage. Cranmer peruses it. His account of it. His censure thereof. . . 11—16.

Anno 1530.

CHAPTER III.

Cranmer's embassies.

Anno 1530, 1531, 1532. He is employed in embassies. To the pope. Offers him a dispute in favour of the king's cause. To the emperor. Cornelius Agrippa gained by Cranmer to the king's cause. Becomes acquainted with Osiander; and marries his kinswoman. Treats with the emperor about the contract of traffic; and about sending supplies against the Turk. Sends the king the news in those parts; and the proclamation for a general council; and the tax of the states of the empire. He goes in an embassy to the duke of Saxony, and other protestant princes ..... 17—26.

CHAPTER IV.

Cranmer made archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno 1532, 1533. Made archbishop of Canterbury. His dignities before he was archbishop. Archbishop Warham foretels a Thomas to succeed him. Archbishop Warham for the king's supremacy. Cranmer's testimony of Warham. A reflection upon a passage relating to Cranmer in Harpsfield's History. Cranmer tries to evade the archbishopric. Declares the reason thereof to the king. The archbishop's brother is made archdeacon of Canterbury. The king linked Cranmer with him in all his proceedings about queen Katherine. The king and archbishop appeal from the pope to a general council. The king writes to Dr. Boner his ambassador in that behalf. The archbishop is consecrated. The pope's bulls. The archbishop surrenders them to the king. The method of the consecration. The archbishop's oath for the temporalties. The archbishop pronounceth the divorce. The archbishop's judgment of the marriage. ..... 27—42.

CHAPTER V.

The archbishop visits his diocese.

Anno 1533. The archbishop forbids preaching. Visits his diocese. The delusion of a nun in Kent. The archbishop appeals from the

pope. The archbishop's letter to Boner. Disputes in the parliament against the pope's supremacy. Licenses for chapels. .... 43—48.

CHAPTER VI.

The archbishop presseth the translation of the Bible.

The archbishop labours the reformation of the church. What he did this convocation. A book for preaching, and the beads. Dispersed by the archbishop to all the bishops. The archbishop of York preaches at York. The clergy and universities subscribe against the pope. Cranmer and others administer the oath of succession to the clergy: and to sir Thomas More, who refused it. Cranmer's argument with him. More offers to swear to the succession itself. Bishop Fisher offers the same. The archbishop writes to Crumwel in their behalf. The archbishop's endeavour to save the lives of More and Fisher .... 49—59. Anno 1534.

CHAPTER VII.

The archbishop visits the diocese of Norwich.

A *præmunire* brought against bishop Nix. The archbishop visits this bishop's see. The bishop of Norwich a persecutor. Goodrich, Lee, and Salcot, consecrated bishops ..... 60—62. Anno 1534.

CHAPTER VIII.

The archbishop preacheth at Canterbury.

The archbishop preaches up the king's supremacy at Canterbury. A prior preaches against him. Whom he convents before him. The archbishop acquaints the king with the matter. A provincial visitation. Winchester herein opposeth him. The archbishop's vindication of his title of primate. The bishop of London refuseth his visitation, and protests against him. Cranmer sends him a part of the New Testament to translate: and his answer. Lawney's jest upon bishop Stokesley. Who this Lawney was ..... 63—72. Anno 1534.

CHAPTER IX.

Monasteries visited.

Anno 1535. Monasteries visited. The archbishop for their dissolution. The visitors' informations. Bishops, diocesan and suffragan, consecrated. Suffragan bishops usual in the realm. Bishops without title. Nicholas Shaxton, Edward Fox, William Barlow, George Browne. A memorial of the good services of archbishop Browne in Ireland. Thomas Manning. John Salisbury ..... 73—80.

CHAPTER X.

The audience court.

Anno 1536. The archbishop's audience court struck at. The archbishop defends it. The archbishop promoting a reformation in the convocation ..... 81, 2.

CHAPTER XI.

Articles of religion.

Anno 1536. Articles published and recommended by the king. The original thereof. The original sent into the north to shew to the rebels. The contents of them. Articles of faith. Articles relating to ceremonies. A conjecture that the pen of the archbishop was here. ..... 83—90.

CHAPTER XII.

Cranmer's judgment about some cases of matrimony.

Anno 1536. Two remarkable books published. 1. The book of Articles. 2. A book against the pope, called, The Bishops' Book. Certain cases of matrimony put to the archbishop. His solution. Refuseth to grant a dispensation for the marriage of a relation. His letter thereupon. He restrains the number of proctors: which some complain of to the parliament. The archbishop divorceth queen Anne. A license for a

chapel. Bucer this year dedicates a book to the archbishop. Bishops consecrated; Richard Sampson, William Rugg, Robert Warton. ..... 91—105.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Bishops' Book.

The Bishops' Book by the archbishop's means. Winchester's opposition. The king makes animadversions upon it. Published. How esteemed. Enlarged and reprinted. Some account of the foresaid book. Names of the composers... 106—116. Anno 1537.

CHAPTER XIV.

The archbishop visits his diocese.

Goes down into his diocese. Gets a license to visit. The vicar of Croydon. The archbishop visits his diocese. What course he took for the preventing of superstition. ..... 117—124. Anno 1537.

CHAPTER XV.

The Bible printed.

His joy at the publishing the English Bible. Presents one by Crumwel to the king. Cranmer's letters to Crumwel. Some further particulars concerning this edition of the Bible. The printer's thanks and requests to Crumwel. Grafton to Crumwel. The printer apprehensive of another edition. Other requests of the printer. ..... 125—133. Anno 1537.

CHAPTER XVI.

Many suffragan bishops made.

The feast of St. Thomas, &c. forbid. Robert Holgate consecrated bishop. John Bird, Lewis Thomas; some account of Bird; Thomas Morley, Richard Ungworth, John Thornton, Richard Thornden, John Hodgkin, Henry Holbeach; suffragans. ..... 134—140. Anno 1537.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Bible in English allowed.

Anno 1538. The archbishop reads upon the Hebrews. A declaration for reading the Bible. The Bible received and read with great joy. The archbishop had a hand in Lambert's death. The bishops dispute against Lambert's reasons. ..... 141—146.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The archbishop's judgment of the eucharist.

Anno 1538. Cranmer zealous for the corporal presence. His reasons for it. Sanders's slanders of the archbishop concerning his opinion in the sacrament. When Cranmer changed his opinion. Latimer of the same judgment. Divers priests marry wives. The king's proclamation against priests' marriages. Anabaptists. A commission against them. The waywardness of the priests occasions the king to write to the justices. The archbishop visits the diocese of Hereford. Bishops consecrated; William Finch, John Bradley. ..... 147—158.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Act of Six Articles.

Anno 1538, 1539. The archbishop makes Nicholas Wotton commissary of his faculties. The king offended with the archbishop and some other bishops. The Six Articles opposed by the archbishop. The arguments the archbishop made use of at this time lost. The king's message to the archbishop by the lords. A book of ceremonies laboured to be brought in. A convocation. The papists rejoice. Two priories surrendered to the archbishop. The archbishop and Cromwel labour with the king about the new bishoprics. Bishops this year; John Bell, John Skyp. ..... 159—170.

CHAPTER XX.

The archbishop in commission.

Anno 1540. The archbishop's enemies accuse him. His honesty and courage

in discharge of a commission: and his success therein. Questions of religion to be discussed by divines, by the king's command. The names of the commissioners. Seventeen questions upon the Sacrament. The archbishop's judgment upon these questions. The judgments of other learned men concerning other points. An act to prevent divorces. The archbishop to Osiander, concerning the Germans' abuse of matrimony. ..... 171—181.

CHAPTER XXI.

The largest Bible printed.

Some account of printing the English Bible. The New Testament printed 1526. And burnt. Reprinted about 1530. Burnt again. The Scripture prohibited in a meeting at the Star-chamber. The New Testaments burnt the third time. The whole Bible printed 1537. Mathew's, that is, Rogers' Bible. About 1538 the Bible printed again in Paris. The printers fall into the inquisition. The Bible printed with French presses in London. [The English Bible burnt the fourth time.] The largest Bible published in the year 1540. Boner's admonition for reading the Bible. The Bible suppressed again, anno 154⅔. King Henry's judgment for the use of the Bible..... 182—195.

Anno 1540.

CHAPTER XXII.

The archbishop retired.

The archbishop keeps himself more retired. The archbishop issues out his commission for the consecrating of Boner. Boner's oath of fidelity. The archbishop makes a commissary in Calais. Butler a better commissary. His troubles. The occasion thereof, the discovery of a religious cheat. Glazier commissary in Calais. The archbishop's judgment of admission of scholars into the school belonging to the cathedral. Bishops consecrated: Edmund Boner, Nicholas Hethe, Thomas Thirlby. Some account of Thirlby's rise..... 196—206.

Anno 1540.

CHAPTER XXIII.

All Souls' College visited.

Anno 1541. The archbishop visits All Souls' College. Visits it a second time. The archbishop gives order about shrines. The king to the archbishop for searching after shrines. The archbishop's orders accordingly to his dean, his archdeacon, and commissary. The archbishop lays Bekesburn to the see. Learned preachers preferred by the archbishop. The archbishop makes some recant. A convocation. Their business. Bishops consecrated: William Knight, John Wakeman, John Chambre, Arthur Bulkely, Robert King..... 207—218.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The King's Book revised.

Anno 1542. The King's Book revised by the archbishop. Divers discourses of the archbishop. The goodly Primer. The archbishop instrumental to the reformation of Scotland. An act procured by the archbishop. Paul Bushe consecrated.... 219—227.

CHAPTER XXV.

Presentments at a visitation.

Anno 1543. The King's Book published by authority. A visitation at Canterbury. Presentments. Reflections upon the former presentments. The prebendaries and preachers admonished by the archbishop..... 228—243.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A black cloud over the archbishop.

Anno 1543. The prebendaries plot against the archbishop. Winchester the chief manager. Winchester designs the death of divers of the court, and of the archbishop and his friends. The papers relating to archbishop Cranmer's accusation. The contents thereof. The canons and preachers of Canterbury. Cranmer's chaplains complained of at the sessions. They prepare the

Articles and prefer them. They article against the archbishop himself. London's practices. A great mass of Articles against the archbishop procured. The chief instruments, Gardiner, Serles, Shether. The bishop of Winchester's discourse with a prebendary of Canterbury. Willoughby and London wait at the Council-chamber. Willoughby brought to the lord privy seal, and to Winchester. The contents of the Articles against the archbishop. More Articles against his commissary. More still. The witnesses. The prebendaries deliver the Articles. 244—260.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The king the archbishop's friend in this danger.

The king himself discovers all to the archbishop. The archbishop desires a commission. The archbishop in commission expostulates with his accusers. Shether, in prison, sends to Winchester. Their reasons which they pretended for what they did. Cocks and Hussey commissioners, and his officers false. New commissioners sent down. The Register false. The delinquents' chambers and chests searched. The treachery of Thornton and Barber. The archbishop's discourse to them. The conspirators are imprisoned. Their release. Their confessions and letters. The ends of the conspirators. . 261—269. Anno 1543.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The archbishop falls into more troubles.

The archbishop accused before the parliament. The palace of Canterbury burnt. The council accuse the archbishop. The king sends privately for him. Comes before the council. The king rebukes the council for Cranmer. The king changes the archbishop's arms. . . . . 270—277. Anno 1543, 1544.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Occasional prayers and suffrages.

Prayers to be made against immoderate rain. English suffrages commanded to be used. The contents of the king's letter to Anno 1544.

that intent. A procession for the king's expedition. The council's letter to the archbishop. Popery prevails. Gardiner and the bishops now carry all. Bishop of Llandaff removed to York. His oath ..... 278—293.

CHAPTER XXX.

The archbishop reformeth the canon law.

Anno 1545, 1546. The archbishop sets upon reforming the canon law. An act concerning it. The progress made by the archbishop in this work. The MSS. of these laws. The archbishop labours in this work under king Edward. The archbishop employed in mending Service Books. The king consults with the archbishop for the redress of certain superstitions. The opportunity of Winchester's absence taken. The archbishop prevails with the king in two great points. Seeks to redress alienation of the revenues of the cathedral. Scripture and sermons more common by the archbishop's means. Anthony Kitchen consecrated. A proclamation against the English Testament. He interprets a statute of his church. The archbishop by the king's command pens a form for a communion. His last office to the king ..... 294—312.

THE APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

Places whence transcribed.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. I. Account of Mr. Pool's book by Dr. Cranmer..... 315.

Ibid. II. Dr. Cranmer, ambassador with the emperor, his letter to the king..... 321.

Ibid. III. A parcel of jewels sent from Greenwich to Hampton Court to the king. To the receipt of which he set his hand... 323.

Harl. MSS. 6148. III * To archdeacon Hawkyns..... 324.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. IV. The king to Dr. Boner, his majesty's agent, to declare to the pope his appeal from him and his sentence. ..... 329.

Cranm. Reg. V. Cranmer's protestation at his consecration. ..... 329.

VI. Cranmer's oath taken to the pope at his consecration... 331. Ibid.

VII. Cranmer's oath to the king for his temporalties..... 331. Cleop. E. 6.

VII.* To archdeacon Hawkyns..... 332. Harl. MSS. 6148.

VIII. The king's proclamation for bringing in seditious books. 410. Cleop. E. 5.

IX. Bishop Fisher to secretary Crumwel, declaring his willingness to swear to the succession..... 337. Cleop. E. 6.

X. [Rowland] Lee, bishop elect of Lichfield and Coventry, to secretary Crumwel concerning bishop Fisher..... 338. Ibid.

XI. The archbishop to secretary Crumwel, in behalf of bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More..... 339. Ibid.

XII. Nix bishop of Norwich to Warham archbishop of Canterbury, for suppressing such as read books brought from beyond sea..... 341. Cleop. E. 5.

XIII. Archbishop Cranmer to king Henry, complaining of a prior in Canterbury that had preached against him..... 343. Cleop. E. 6.

XIV. The archbishop to Mr. Secretary Crumwel, concerning his styling himself primate of all England..... 350. Cleop. F. 1.

XV. The appeal of Stokesly bishop of London to the king, against the archbishop's visitation..... 355. Cleop. F. 2.

XVI. An inventory of the cathedral church of St. Swithin's in Winchester, as it was given in by the prior and convent to Crumwel, secretary of state, and the king's vicar general over all spiritual men..... 360. MSS. C.C.C.C.

XVII. A reply to the archbishop against his court of audience. 366. Cleop. F. 1.

XVII*. Statutum de numero Procuratorum, &c. ..... 370. Wilkins' Concilia.

XVIII. Archbishop Cranmer's order concerning the proctors of the Court of Arches, shewn to be inconvenient, by a paper presented to the parliament. ..... 373. Cleop. F. 2.

XVIII*. To king Henry VIII. ..... 388. Otho. c. x.

Cleop. E. 5. XIX. The archbishop to the lord Crumwel, giving him some account of his visitation of his diocese. 391

Ibid. XX. Richard Grafton, the printer of the Bible, to the lord Crumwel, complaining of some that intended to print the Bible, and thereby to spoil his impression. . . . . 393.

Cranm. Reg. XXI. Abp. Cranmer to the king for a suffragan of Dover . . 396.

Cranm. Regist. XXII. The archbishop's letters of commission to Richard, suffragan of Dover. . . . . 398.

Cleop. E. 5. XXIII. A declaration to be read by all curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English. . . . . 399.

Ibid. XXIV. The answer or declaration of Richard, bishop of Chichester, in the presence of the king's majesty, against the sixth reason or argument of John Lambert, concerning the most holy and blessed Sacrament of the altar. . . . . 401.

Ex Dudith. Orat. et Opusc. XXV. Tho. Cranmeri, archiep. Cant., epist. super controversiam de cœna Domini ortam. . . . . 406.

Cranm. Reg. XXV*. Injunctions given by Thomas, archbishop Cranmer 414.

Cleop. E. 5. XXVI. Part of a letter from a member of parliament concerning the transactions of the house about passing the act of the Six Articles. . . . . 415.

Ibid. XXVI.* Questions and answers concerning the sacraments and the appointment and power of bishops and priests. . . . . 417.

Ibid. XXVII. The solution of some bishop to certain questions about the sacraments. . . . . 424.

Ibid. XXVIII. The judgment of another bishop upon the aforesaid questions. . . . . 428.

Ibid. XXVIII.* Some queries concerning confirmation, with the answers which were given to them by Cranmer. . . . . 433.

Ibid. XXIX. Archbishop Cranmer to Osiander concerning some abuses in matrimony among the Germans. . . . . 434.

Ibid. XXX. The French king's license to print the English Bible in Paris. . . . . 439.

XXX.* To Crumwell..... ..... 440. Cleop. E.4.

XXXI. Three discourses of archbishop Cranmer, occasioned upon his review of the king's book, intitled, "The Erudition of a Christian Man."..... 448. MSS. C.C.C.C.

XXXII. Other discourses of archbishop Cranmer..... 456. Ibid.

XXXIII. Interrogatories for Dr. London, Dr. Willoughby's confession, &c..... 459. Ibid.

XXXIV. A letter prepared for the king to sign, to ratify certain ecclesiastical laws..... 474.

MEMORIALS

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

CRANMER'S BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND RISE.

THE name of this most reverend prelate deserves to stand upon eternal record; having been the first protestant archbishop of this kingdom, and the greatest instrument, under God, of the happy Reformation of this Church of England: in whose piety, learning, wisdom, conduct, and blood, the foundation of it was laid. And therefore it will be no unworthy work to revive his memory now, though after an hundred and thirty years and upwards. I pretend not to write a complete narrative of his life and death, that being scarce possible at such a distance of time, and in the want of full intelligence and information of the various matters that passed through his hands, and the events that befell him. All that I attempt by this present undertaking is, to retrieve and bring to light as many historical passages as I can, concerning this holy prelate; by a careful and long search, not only into printed books of

1 A worthy work to revive his memory.

history, but the best archives, and many most precious and inestimable manuscripts that have fallen into my hands.

His family. I shall pass over, in a few words, his earlier days, because I have so much to say of him in his riper years. Aslacton, a town in the county of Nottingham, was the place of his Anno 1489. birth; and the second day of July, in the year 1489, was the day of it. He was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq. a gentleman of a right ancient family; whose ancestor came in with the Conqueror: and for a long series of time the stock continued in good wealth and quality; as it did in France; for there were extant of his name and family there, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. One whereof came then into England, in company with the French ambassador: to whom, for relation sake, our bishop gave a noble entertainment.

Account of his younger years. 2 Our youth was put to learn his grammar of a rude parish-clerk in that barbarous age: under whom he learned little, and endured much from the harsh and curst disposition of his schoolmaster. Though his father were minded to have his son educated in learning, yet he would not he should be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exercises: insomuch that he used himself to shoot. And many times his father permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses: so that when he was bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he would do very comely. As otherwise at all times there was not any in his house that would become an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And sometimes he would shoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was poreblind.

Life of Cranmer in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

Sent to Cambridge, Anno 1503. But to return to his younger days. He lost his father early; but his mother, at the age of fourteen years, anno

1503, sent him to study at Cambridge: where he was nursled in the grossest kind of sophistry, logic, philosophy moral and natural: not in the text of the old philosophers, but chiefly in the dark riddles of Duns, and other subtile questionists. And in these he lost his time, till he came to two and twenty years of age. After that, he gave himself to the reading of Faber, Erasmus, [and] good Latin authors, four or five years together, unto the time that Luther began to write. And then, considering what great controversy was in matters of religion, not only in trifles, but in the chiefest articles of our salvation, he bent himself to try out the truth herein.

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS. [a]

Anno 1511.

Anno 1516.

And forasmuch as he perceived he could not judge indifferently in such weighty matters, without the knowledge of the holy scriptures; therefore, before he was infected with any man's opinions or errors, he applied his whole study three years therein. After this, he gave his mind to good writers, both new and old: not rashly running over them; for he was a slow reader, but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, seldom reading without pen in hand. And whatsoever made either for the one part or the other of things in controversy, he wrote it out, if it were short, or at least noted the author, and the place, that he might find it, and write it out at leisure: which was a great help to him in debating of matters ever after.

Sets himself to study the scripture, Anno 1519.

This kind of study he used till he was made doctor of divinity: which was about the thirty-fourth year of his age, and about the year 1523.

Is made doctor of divinity, Anno 1523.

But before this, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus College, he married a gentleman's daughter. And then leaving the college, he read the common lecture in Buckingham College, before that called Monks College, because

Marries.

[a] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 90. British Museum. Original.]

monks studied there, but now Magdalen College. But in a year after his wife travailing with child, both she and the child died. And being now single again, immediately the master and fellows of his old college chose him in fellow again: where he remained.

3 During his residence here, divers of the ripest and solidest sort of scholars were sought out of this university of Cambridge, to be transplanted into Cardinal Wolsey's new college in Oxon, to be fellows there. Our Cranmer was nominated for one by Dr. Capon, to whom that matter was, as it seems, intrusted by the Cardinal. And though the salary was much more considerable there, and the way to preferment more ready, by the favour of the Cardinal, to such as were his own scholars; yet he refused to go, choosing rather to abide among his old fellow-collegians, and more closely to follow his studies and contemplations here: though he were not without danger for his incompliance with this invitation, giving them that were concerned great offence hereat. But of those that went from Cambridge at this time, who were all men picked out for their parts and learning, these were the chief: Clark; Friar, afterwards doctor of physic; Sumner; Harman, afterwards fellow of Eaton; Betts, afterwards chaplain to queen Ann[b]; Cox, afterwards schoolmaster to king Edward; Frith, afterwards a martyr; Baily; Godman; Drum, afterwards one of the six preachers at Canterbury; Lawney, afterwards chaplain to the duke of Norfolk. All these were cast into prison for suspicion of heresy; and divers through the hardship thereof died. So that well it was for Cranmer that he went not.

Refuses to go to Wolsey's college, Oxon.

Soon after, he took his degree of doctor of divinity, and became the reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college.

He is made one of the university examiners.

[b] [i. e. Anne Boleyn.]

And out of the value the university had of his learning, he was appointed one of the examiners of such as commenced bachelors and doctors in divinity: according to whose approbations, the university allowed them to proceed. In which place he did much good; for he used to examine these candidates out of the scriptures; and by no means would let them pass, if he found they were unskilful in it, and unacquainted with the history of the Bible. So were the friars especially, whose study lay only in school authors: whom therefore he sometimes turned back as insufficient, advising them to study the scriptures for some years longer, before they came for their degrees; it being a shame for a professor in divinity to be unskilled in the book wherein the knowledge of God and the grounds of divinity lay. Whereby he made himself from the beginning hated by the friars: yet some of the more ingenuous sort of them afterward rendered him great and public thanks for refusing them; whereby, being put upon the study of God's word, they attained to more sound knowledge in religion. One of these was Dr. Barat, a white friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich.

The king's great cause first proposed to the universities.

Not long after this, king Henry being persuaded that the marriage between him and queen Katharine, daughter to king Ferdinand of Spain, was unlawful and naught, by Dr. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, and other of his clergy; he sent to six of the best learned men of Cambridge, and as many of Oxford, to debate this question, *Whether it were lawful for one brother to marry his brother's wife, being known of his brother?* Of the which Cambridge doctors, Cranmer was appointed for one; such was his fame then in that university for learning. But because he was not then at Cambridge, another was chosen in his stead. These learned men agreed fully, with one consent, that it was lawful, with the pope's dispen- 4

sation, so to do. But if Cranmer had been there, he would have been of another mind, as we shall see in the sequel.

The occasion of his rise.

This great matrimonial cause gave the first step to Dr. Cranmer's preferment: for when Fox and Gardiner, the one the king's almoner, and the other his secretary, lighting by chance in Dr. Cranmer's company, at one Mr. Cressie's house, situate in Waltham-Abbey parish in Essex, had on design fallen upon discourse of that matter, purposely to learn his judgment therein, knowing him an eminent noted reader of divinity in Cambridge; he gave his own sense of the cause in words to this effect: "I have nothing at all studied," said he, "for the verity of this cause; nor am beaten therein, as you have been. Howbeit, I do think that you go not the next way to work, to bring the matter unto a perfect conclusion and end, especially for the satisfaction of the troubled conscience of the king's highness. For in observing the common process and frustratory delays of these your courts, the matter will linger long enough; and peradventure in the end come to small effect. And this is most certain," said he, "there is but one truth in it; which no men ought, or better can discuss than the divines: whose sentence may be soon known and brought so to pass with little industry and charges, that the king's conscience may thereby be quieted and pacified. Which we all ought to consider and regard in this question or doubt; and then his highness, in conscience quieted, may determine himself that which shall seem good before God. And let these tumultuary processes give place unto a certain truth."

His opinion of the king's cause. Life of Cranmer, in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

The king sends for him.

His opinion, thus unwillingly drawn from him, was so much liked of by them to whom he spake it, that they thought it worth their acquainting the king with

it: which they did within two days after at Greenwich. Whereupon the king commanded he should be sent for to the court. Which was done, and he brought into the king's presence. Who, having heard him discourse upon the marriage, and well observing the gravity and modesty, as well as learning of the man, resolved to cherish and make much of him. This was about August 1529, the king having commanded him to digest in writing what he could say upon the foresaid argument; retained him, and committed him unto the family and care of the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, named sir Thomas Bolen, dwelling then at Durham house: esteeming him a fit person for Cranmer to reside with, who had himself been employed in embassies to Rome and Germany about the same matter; and so able to instruct our divine in particular passages relating thereunto: and likewise would be sure to afford him all the security and favour and aid possible, from the prospect, that if the king's former marriage could be proved unlawful, and thereby null and void, his own family would be in a fair probability to be highly advanced, by the king's matching with his daughter the lady Ann Bolen. Anno 1529.

Nor was Cranmer unsuitably placed here in regard of the disposition of his noble host; being accounted one of the learnedest noblemen in the land, and endued with a mind inclined to philosophy. Erasmus, who had good intelligence in England, and knew this earl himself, gives this account of him to Damianus à Goes: *Est enim vir, ut uno ore prædicant omnes, unus prope inter nobiles eruditus, animoque plane philosophico*[c]. He was also much addicted to the study and love of the holy scriptures, as the same Erasmus in an epistle to him mentioneth, and commendeth Suitably placed with the earl of Ormond. Epist. 19. lib. 27.

[c] [Erasmi Epist. Opus. lib. 27. Epist. 19. p. 1524. ed. Lond. 1642.]

Impensius gratulor tuæ fælicitati, quod homini potenti, laico, et aulico, perspiciam etiam sacras literas esse cordi, teque nobilis illius margaritæ desiderio teneri. Epist. 34. lib. 29.[d]

him for. *I do the more congratulate your happiness, when I observe the sacred scriptures to be so dear to a man, as you are, of power, one of the laity, and a courtier; and that you have such a desire to that pearl of price.* He was also a patron of learning and learned men: and if there were nothing else to testify this, it would be enough to say, that he was well affected to the great Erasmus, and a true valuer of his studies. The world is beholden to this noble peer for some of the labours that proceeded from the pen of that most learned man. For upon his desire Erasmus wrote three tracts; one was, Enarrations upon the twenty-second Psalm, intituled, *Dominus regit me;* but more truly the twenty-third. Another was an Explication of the Apostles' Creed. And the third, Directions how to prepare for Death. And from these subjects, which this nobleman chose to desire Erasmus' thoughts of, we may conclude also his pious and religious mind. All which his virtuous accomplishments, as they rendered his house a suitable harbour for the learned and pious Cranmer, so they were not a little increased by his converse and familiarity there.

Friendship and correspondence between the earl and Cranmer.

For while Cranmer abode here, a great friendship was contracted between him and that noble family; especially the chief members of it, the countess, and the lady Ann, and the earl himself; who often held serious conferences with him about the great matter. And in the earl's absence from home, letters passed between them; Cranmer writing to him of the affairs of the court, and of the welfare of his family, as well as of other more weighty things. In one letter, dated from Hampton-Court, in the month of June, (which by circumstance must be in the year Anno 1530. 1530,) he writ to him, "That the king's grace, my lady his wife, my lady Ann his daughter, were in good health:

[d] [Id. lib. 29. Epist. 34. p. 1754.]

and that the king, and my lady Ann, rode the day before to Windsor from Hampton-Court, and that night they were looked for again there; praying God to be their guide[e]."

A providence in his being placed here.

And I cannot look upon this pious and learned man's placing here in this family, but as guided by a peculiar hand of divine providence. Whereby this house became better acquainted with the knowledge of the gospel; and had the seeds of true religion scattered in the hearts of those noble persons that were related to it; particularly of her, who was afterwards to be advanced to that high and public station, to be consort to the king. And that she became a favourer, and, as much as she durst, a promoter of the purer religion, must, I think, in a great measure be owing thereunto.

Cranmer disputes at Cambridge.

When Cranmer had accomplished the king's request, and finished his book, he himself, the secretary, and the almoner, and other learned men, had in commission to dispute the cause in question in both the universities. Which being first attempted at Cambridge, Dr. Cranmer, by his authority, learning, and persuasion, brought over divers learned men in one day, of the contrary part and opinion, to be on his part. For being now, after some absence, returned to Cambridge, divers of the university, and some of those doctors that before had given in their judgments to the king for the validity of the pope's dispensation, repaired to him, to know his opinion: and, after long reasoning, he changed the minds of five of the six. Then almost in every disputation, both in private houses, and in the common schools, this was one question, *Whether the pope might dispense with the brother to marry the*

MS. life of Cranmer. 6

[e] [See Appendix, and abp. Cranmer's Works. Park. Soc. ed. Letter I. vol. ii. p. 231.]

brother's wife, after carnal knowledge? And it was of many openly defended, that he might not. The secretary, when he came home, acquainted the king with what they had done, and how Dr. Cranmer had changed the minds of five of the said learned men of Cambridge, and of many others beside[f]. Afterward this university, as well as the other, determined the king's cause against the pope's dispensation.

Grows dear to the king and his court.

From an academic, our doctor being now become a courtier, he so prudently demeaned himself, that he was not only dear to the earl of Wiltshire's family, but grew much favoured by the nobility in general; as the lord Herbert collects from the historians of those times; and especially by the king himself. He was very much about him, the king holding frequent communication with him, and seemed unwilling to have him absent. Which may appear from hence; that when Cranmer was minded for some reason to resort to the earl of Wiltshire, who was then from Hampton-Court, and as it seems at London, upon some occasions of his own, he doubted whether the king would let him go. And so he writ to him, that he would come the next day to him, *if the king's grace let him not.*

Life of Henr. VIII. p. 375. [g]

[f] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 90. British Museum. Original.]

[g] [Ed. Lond. 1672.]

CHAPTER II.

POLE'S BOOK ABOUT THE KING'S MATRIMONY[h].

Ann. 1530.

Pole's book against the king's dissolving his marriage.

About this time a book of Reginald Pole, afterwards cardinal, earnestly persuading the king to continue his marriage with his queen, fell into Dr. Cranmer's hands. I do not find mention of this book in any historian, that hath come to my hands. No, not in his life published by Bacatellus, bishop of Ragusa, though he hath there given us a catalogue of his books. But in likelihood the reason was, because this was some private discourse, or letter, chiefly intended for the king's own use; as appears from some words of Cranmer concerning it, viz. "That it was writ with that eloquence, that if it were set forth, and known to the common people, [an evidence it was a more private writing,] it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary[i]." It was penned about the year 1530, as may be collected from another passage in the said writing, wherein he mentioneth the king's living in wedlock with

[h] [This was the book, which Pole some years afterwards declared he had delivered to Henry VIII. "with secretness." Vid. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. iii. pt. 2. Appendix. book 3. No. 51. pp. 159—163. ed. Oxon. 1829. Beccatelli, who wrote the life of cardinal Pole, and other authors, having made no reference to this book, led Anthony à Wood to doubt whether it had ever been written. Vid. Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. col. 293. ed. Bliss, Lond. 1813—20. Philips (life of Reginald Pole, pp. 66—68. ed. Oxon. 1764.) says that Pole first declared his opinion on the divorce to Henry VIII. at a personal interview, and afterwards, with a view of softening the king's displeasure, "sent his reasons in writing, with an assurance, which he knew would be acceptable, that the purport of the letter had been communicated to nobody."]

[i] [See Appendix, and abp. Cranmer's Works. Park. Soc. ed. Letter I. vol. ii. p. 229.]

queen Katherine twenty years, the expiration of which fell in about that time. What induced Pole to write on this subject is to me uncertain; for he avoided, as much as
7 could be, to meddle in this affair, out of fear of the king's displeasure, which was the reason of his departing abroad. Probably it was at the king's command; like as some years after he commanded him to write his judgment of the title of *Supreme Head*, which he had lately assumed. Which occasioned Pole's four books of Ecclesiastical Unity[k]. For some about the king had told him, it would have a great influence upon the people, especially the nobility, if he could bring Pole over to allow and approve of his marriage: who was a person, though then but young, yet highly valued in the nation for his piety and learning, and great descent.

Cranmer peruses it.

The book was soon delivered, whether by the earl of Wiltshire or the king himself, unto the examination and consideration of Cranmer, now the great court divine: who, after he had greedily perused it, sent the contents of it in a letter to his friend and patron the earl, being then absent from court. The book, though the argument of it chiefly depended upon divinity, proceeded more on political principles than divine. Take the following account of it, as Cranmer gave it in his said letter.

His account of it.

First, Pole treated of the danger of diversity of titles to the crown; which might follow, if the present marriage

[k] [These books are entitled by Strype and Collier, "De Unione Ecclesiastica;" by Burnet, "De Unitate Ecclesiastica," and were written against Henry's divorce from queen Katherine, and his assuming the supremacy. It was completed in March 1535, but not published till twelve months afterwards. Vid. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 389. ed. Lond. 1840, 1; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat., vol. i. p. 444. ed. Oxon. 1829. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 132. ed. Lond. 1831. and infra, cap. xii.]

with queen Katherine were rejected, (in which there was an heir,) and another consummated: as appeared by the titles and pretensions of the two houses of Lancaster and York. And that the king ought to provide against the miseries that might be brought upon his realm by the people, if he should reject his daughter, whom they took for his lawful heir, and should persuade them to take another. Then he urged the danger of incurring the emperor's displeasure, the queen being his aunt, and the princess his cousin. Then he proceeded to consider the reasons that moved the king to his present resolutions; namely, that God's law forbad marrying the brother's wife: and that the people, however averse at first, (besides that it belonged not to them to judge of such matters,) would be content in the king's doings, when they should know how the ancient doctors of the church and so many great universities were on the king's side. And, that however the emperor might fall out with the king for this matter, yet God would never fail those that stood on his part, and refused to transgress his commandments: and that England might depend on the French king's aid, by virtue of the league which he had entered into with the king, and the old grudge which he bore towards the emperor. Afterwards Pole goes on to review these reasons. And first, his judgment was, that scripture might be brought to justify this marriage, and that there was as good ground of scripture for that, as for the part which the king then took, namely, the unlawfulness of it. That if indeed he thought the king's part was just, and that his marriage were undoubtedly against God's pleasure, then he could not deny, but that it should be well done for the king to refuse it and take another wife. Yet he confessed, that, for his own part, he could not find in his heart to have any hand, or be any furtherer or abetter in

it: acknowledging however, that he had no good reason for it, but only out of affection and duty to the king's
8 person. Because he would not disannul the princess his daughter's title, nor accuse the most part of the king's life, as the books written on the king's part did: as though he had lived in a matrimony shameful, abominable, bestial, and against nature. This seemed an high compliment of Pole's indeed, that he would rather choose to let the king live and die in an habitual breach of God's law, than be guilty of something that might argue a want of civil affection and duty in him.

And as concerning the people, his judgment was, that neither by learning nor preaching would they ever be brought into an ill conceit of the king's former marriage, and to think so dishonourably of their king, as to live so many years in matrimony so abominable. But as they had begun to hate priests, this would make them much more to do so; nay, and the very name of learning too. As for the authority of the universities, they were many times led by affection, which was well known: and he wished they had never erred in their determinations. He shewed, that they were brought to the king's part with great difficulty. Moreover, against the universities' authority, he set the authority of the king's father and his council, the queen's father and his council, the pope and his.

Then he proceeded to political considerations of the pope, and emperor, and the French king. That the pope was a great adversary of the king's purpose, he had shewed divers tokens already; and that not without cause. Because if he should consent, he should do against his predecessors, and restrain his own power, which he would rather gladly enlarge, and likewise raise seditions in many realms, as in Portugal: of whose king the emperor married

one sister, the duke of Savoy the other. Then he went on extolling the emperor's power, and lessening that of the French king, as to his aiding of us: mentioning the mischief the emperor might do England, by forbidding only our trading into Flanders and Spain. That the French never used to keep their leagues with us, but for their own ends; and that we could never find in our hearts to trust them: and that the two nations never loved one another. And that if the French should but suspect, that this new matrimony (of the king with the lady Ann Bolen now proposed) should not continue, we must not expect succour of them, but upon intolerable conditions. And then lastly, he comes to deliberate for the saving the king's honour. Which as it was impossible to do, if he proceeded one step further, for he had already, he said, gone to the very brink; so he began to propound certain means for the rescue of it. Thus far is Cranmer's relation of the book[1].

But here he breaks off, the messenger that tarried for 9
the letter being in haste: promising the next day to come to the earl, to whom he wrote all this, and relate the rest to him by word of mouth. These means in short were (as I collect from some other passages of this letter) to refer the matter wholly to the pope, and to reject the thoughts of matching with the lady Ann. The which was now much talked of; for the king and she were very great, and about this very time they both rode together from Hampton-Court to Windsor: though she were yet no more than the lady Ann, without any other title[m].

The censure which our divine gave of this book, and the writer, was this; (wherein his modesty and candour, as Cranmer's censure thereof.

[1] [See Appendix, and abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. Letter I. vol. ii. pp. 229—231.]

[m] [Id. ibid.]

well as judgment, appeared:) "that Pole had shewed himself both witty and eloquent; and that, for his wisdom, he might have been of counsel to the king: and such his rhetoric, that if his book should have been set forth, and known to the common people, he believed it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." Concerning that which he chiefly drove at, namely, that the king should commit his great matter to the pope's judgment, Cranmer gave his opinion, "that he seemed therein to lack much judgment: and that though he pressed it with such goodly eloquence, both of words and sentence, that he were likely to persuade many, yet him," he said, "he persuaded in that point nothing at all." No, Cranmer had too well studied the point, to leave such a case of conscience to the pope's decision. But in many other things in this discourse of Pole, he professed, he was much satisfied. I have placed this whole letter in the Appendix at the end of these Memorials, as I shall do many other letters and papers of value, partly for the satisfaction of more curious readers that love to see originals, and partly for the preservation of many choice monuments relating to this man and these times, and for the transferring them to posterity.

Num. 1.

CHAPTER III.

CRANMER'S EMBASSIES.

In the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was sent by the king into France, Italy, and Germany, with the earl of Wiltshire, chief ambassador, Dr. Lee elect archbishop of York, Dr. Stokesly, elect of London, divines; Trigonel, Karn, and Benet, doctors of the law, to dispute these matrimonial matters of his majesty at Paris, Rome, and other places: carrying the book he had made upon that subject with him. From France they took their journey to the pope; where Cranmer's book was delivered to him, and he ready to justify it, and to offer a dispute against the marriage openly, upon these two points which his book chiefly consisted of, viz. Ann. 1530. He is employed in embassies. To the pope. Offers him a dispute in favour of the king's cause.

I. That no man, *jure divino*, could, or ought to marry his brother's wife.

II. That the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary.

But after sundry promises and appointments made, there was no man found to oppose him, and publicly to dispute these matters with him. Yet in more private argumentations with them that were about the pope, he so forced them, that at last they openly granted, even in the pope's chief court of the Rota, that the said marriage was against God's law. But as for the pope's power of dispensing with the laws of God, it was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with. But Dr. Cranmer boldly and honestly denied it utterly before them all.

The king's ambassadors from the pope repaired to the emperor Charles V., Cranmer only being left behind at

Rome to make good his challenge, and withal more privately to get the judgments and subscriptions of the learned men there in the king's case: which was one of his businesses also in Germany after. What he did in this latter affair he signified by a letter to Crook, another of the king's agents for that purpose in Italy; namely, "That his success there at Rome was but little: and that they dared not to attempt to know any man's mind, because of the pope, who had said, that friars should not discuss his power. And added, that he looked for little favour in that court, but to have the pope and all his cardinals declare against them[n]."

Hist. Refor. P. i. p. 89.

To the emperor.

Here at Rome Cranmer abode for some months. But in all the journey he behaved himself so learnedly, soberly, and wittily, that the earl of Wilts gave him such commendations to the king by his letters, that the rest coming home, he sent him a commission with instructions to be his sole ambassador to the emperor in his said great cause. Which commissional letters of the king to him bare date January 24, 1531, wherein he was stiled *Consiliarius regius et ad Cæsarem orator*[p]. By this opportunity of travelling through Germany, following the emperor's court, by his conferences he fully satisfied many learned

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS[o].

Anno 1531.

Hist. Luther. per Seckendorf.

[n] [Crooke reports, out of a letter of Cranmer's to him from Rome, these words; "As for our successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any man's mind, because of the pope; nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no friars shall discuss his power: and as for any favour in this court, I look for none, but to have the pope with all his cardinals declare against us." Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 180. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[o] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 90.]

[p] [Venit d. 14. Julii Norimbergam ad Johannem Fridericum celeberrimus ille Crammerus, postea archiepiscopus Cantuariensis ..... tunc in literis regiis d. 24. Januarii 1531. (stylo Anglicano, sed nostro 1532.) datis D. Thomas Craymer, consiliarius regis, et ad Cæsarem orator, vocatus. Seck-

Germans, which afore were of a contrary judgment; and divers in the emperor's own court and council also. One of the chiefest of these, and who suffered severely for it, was Cornelius Agrippa, knight, doctor of both laws, judge of the prerogative court, and counsellor to the emperor, and a man of deep learning: who confessed to the said ambassador, that the marriage was naught, but that he durst not say so openly, for fear both of the pope and emperor. Yet he was afterwards cast into prison, where he died, for expressing his mind, as was thought, somewhat more plainly in this affair[q].

Cornelius Agrippa gained by Cranmer to the king's cause.

While he was now abroad in Germany, he went to Nurimberg, where Osiander was pastor. And being a man of fame and learning, our ambassador became acquainted with him; sending for him sometimes to discourse with him; and sometimes he would go to Osiander's house, to visit him and his study. This eminent divine of the German protestant church he also gained to favour the king's cause. For he wrote a book of incestuous marriages, wherein he determined the king's present matrimony to be unlawful. But this book was called in by a prohibition, printed at Augsburgh. And there was also a form of a direction, drawn up by the same Osiander, how the king's process should be managed: which was sent over hither. Cranmer's discourse with Osiander, at these their meetings, concerning divers matters relating especially to Christian doctrine and true religion, were so wise and good, that that great divine stood in admiration of him, as though he had been inspired from above[r]. In

Becomes acquainted with Osiander.

Multa graviter, multa sapienter, ac plane divinitus de Christiana doctrina, ac vera reli-

endorf, Comment. Hist. Apol. de Lutheran. lib. iii. sect. 7. § xvi. (12) p. 41. ed. Francof. et Lips. 1692.]

[q] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 191. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[r] [Osiander. Harmon. Evan. In ep. dedicat. ad Cranmerum. ed. Lutet. 1545.]

gione disputares. In ep. dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangel.

one of their conferences, Osiander communicated to him certain papers, wherein he had been attempting to harmonize the gospels, but, by reason of the difficulty that often arose, had thrown them aside. A thing this was which Cranmer declared to him his great approbation of; as he was always a man greatly studious of the scripture, and earnestly desirous that the right knowledge thereof might be increased. So he vehemently exhorted him to go forward in this study, and to finish it with all convenient speed: for that it would not only, he said, be of use to the church of Christ, but adorn it. These admonitions gave new strength to Osiander to fall afresh about this work, and at last to bring it to a conclusion. In the year 1537, he published it, and dedicated it to Cranmer, then archbishop, the great encourager of the author.

And marries his kinswoman.

In some of these visits Cranmer saw Osiander's nicce, and obtained her for his wife; whom when he returned from his embassy he brought not over with him: but in the year 1534 he privately sent for her; and kept her with him till the year 1539, in the severe time of the Six Articles; when he sent her back in secret to her friends in Germany for a time. By these visits, and this affinity, there grew a very cordial love between Cranmer and Osiander: and a great correspondence was maintained by letters between them long after. A parcel of these letters in manuscript, the right reverend the bishop of Sarum mentioned in his History of the Reformation; which he met with in the exquisite library of Mr. Richard Smith, as he told a friend of mine. But notwithstanding my inquiry after them, I had not the good fortune to see them, nor to find into whose hands they were come, after the selling of that library by auction. Which letters, if I could have procured a sight of, might have served somewhat perhaps in this my undertaking.

We are now slipped into the year 1532. And among other services which he did abroad, (besides his promoting the king's great matrimonial cause among the German princes and states, as well as others,) he was employed for the establishing and securing a traffic between the merchants of England and the emperor's Low Countries[s]. Concerning which, the former contract, it seems, began to shake, occasioned by that lukewarmness of affection that now grew between these two monarchs. About this affair our ambassador had divers conferences with Monsieur Grandeville, the emperor's great minister at Regensburgh. The effect of his last solicitation was, that Grandeville had told him that the diet concerning the said contract was held in Flanders, where the queen of Hungary[t] was governess; and therefore that the emperor would do nothing therein without her advice; and that he would make answer by her rather than by him. And so Cranmer desired the king, that it would please his grace no further to look for answer from him therein, but from the queen, unto whom the whole answer was committed.

Anno 1532.

Treats with the emperor about the contract of traffic.

Another business our ambassador was now agitating at this court for the king was about sending supplies to the emperor against the Turk; who had now made a formidable invasion in Hungary, with an army consisting of three hundred thousand men. The emperor had lately, by virtue of a former league, and for the common cause of Christianity, demanded certain forces of the king for this purpose. 12 Now what measures his ambassador was to take with the emperor in this affair, William Paget, his majesty's servant,

And about sending supplies against the Turk.

[s] [The letter from which Strype draws these and the following particulars of Cranmer's embassy will be found in the Appendix, and also in abp. Cranmer's works. Park. Soc. ed. letter ii. vol. ii. pp. 231, 2.]

[t] [Mary the sister of Charles V., queen dowager of Hungary, and governess of the Netherlands.]

(the same that was afterward secretary of state,) was dispatched to him with instructions: wherein were contained what answer he should make to the emperor's demands. Which he reported accordingly to Grandeville. The which answer he delivered to him in writing, upon the desire of Grandeville, for this reason, as he urged, that he might relate the same the more truly to the emperor. He was now, in the month of September, drawing towards the Turk from Abagh, a place not far from Regensburgh, where our English ambassador now resided; not having yet returned any reply to him, prevented by that hurry of business that then lay upon the emperor. So that upon Grandeville's intimation to repair unto the emperor at Lintz, which was in his way to Vienna, and that there he should have an answer in writing again, the ambassador followed thither in company with the ambassador of France. And so he, with the other ambassador, in eight or ten days' space, furnished themselves with wagons, horses, ships, tents, and other things necessary to the journey for themselves and their train.

Sends the king the news in those parts;

But before his departure, he informed the king of the news in those parts: as, that the Turk resided still in Hungary in the same place, environed on all parts: of which more at large he had written in his former letters. That king Ferdinando, the emperor's brother, who was then at Regensburgh, was to meet the emperor at Passaw, fourteen miles from thence: and so both were to pass forth to Lintz, which was the midway from Regensburgh to Vienna. That the emperor would tarry there to take counsel what to do, and there all the ambassadors should know his pleasure.

and the proclamation for a general council.

He sent the king also the copy of the emperor's proclamation concerning a general council, and a reformation to be had in Germany, for the controversies of the faith.

Which he was constrained to do, his affairs with the Turk pressing him so much. The sum thereof was, "That his imperial majesty declared peace throughout all Germany; enjoining, that none should be molested for the cause of religion, until the council should be called: or, in case there were none, until some other means should be found out by the states of the empire for healing the present divisions. And that he would use his utmost diligence, that a council should be denounced within six months, and the year after to be commenced. And that if this could not be obtained, then these matters should be referred to the imperial diets, to be handled there. That in the meantime all judicial proceedings relating to religion should be suspended; and that no lawsuits should hereafter be commenced against the protestants: and that in case any were, he commanded that they should be void and null[u]." This edict was published in the month of August this year. Sleid. Comment.

Together with the aforesaid proclamation, he transferred over to the king the tax of all the states of the empire; that is, how many soldiers every man was limited to find for aid against the Turk. Whence our ambassador made a particular observation to his master, for his better direction, what number of forces it were equal for him to send; and to justify his refusal to comply with the emperor, in case he should have demanded more than was his proportion: taking his measures from the said tax. And the observation which he made was this, that his grace might perceive, that the greatest prince in Germany, And the tax of the states of the empire. 13

[u] [Vires contrahere, Cæsar pacem publicam totius Germaniæ sancit, et ne religionis causa cuiquam ulla molestia creetur, edicit, adusque concilii tempus, aut si nullum fiat, tantisper, donec per ordines imperii alia fuerit inventa ratio dissidium hoc sanandi: qui contra fecerint, iis gravem constituit pœnam, et omnem operam se daturum ait, ut intra sextum mensem concilium denuncietur, et anno post

(only the duke of Burgundy, and Austria excepted), was not appointed above 120 horsemen, and 554 footmen. A transcript of this letter of Cranmer to the king I have put in the Appendix. These passages will serve to shew Dr. Cranmer's diligence, wisdom, and other abilities in the quality he now stood in of an ambassador.

No. II.

He goes in an embassy to the duke of Saxony and other protestant princes.

Being now resident in the emperor's court, the king made use of him in another embassy, but to be more secretly made, to the elector Frederick, duke of Saxony, that the emperor might not be privy to it. For in the month of July, Dr. Cranmer departed incognito from Ratisbon, (where the emperor was, and had there appointed a diet, in order to the coming to some terms of peace with the protestants, until a council should be called), and came privately to the duke, then abiding in a certain hospital, as it was called, and delivered letters to him, and to Philip duke of Lunenburgh, and Wolfgang prince of Anhalt. At this first congress he assured the elector of his master the king of England's friendship, as the letters he delivered imported. The next day he returned to the elector's court, Pontanus and Spalatinus, two of the elector's counsellors, being present. Here at this meeting he required divers things concerning peace with the emperor, the state of religion, aid against the Turk, and the goods of the church, which the princes were said to invade. He spake magnificent things of the king

Hist. Lutheranism. per Seckendorf.

inchoetur, aut, si hoc impetrari non possit, ut tum in imperii comitiis de summa rei tractetur: itaque mandat, ut interim actiones omnes forenses, religionis causa jam intentatæ, suspendantur, neque posthac in protestantes ullæ moveantur, et si quid forte contra fiet irritum esse jubet. Sleidan, de statu relig. et reipub. lib. viii. p. 134. ed. Argent. 1566. See also Seckendorf, Comment. Hist. Apol. de Lutheran. lib. iii. sect. 4. § ix. (12) ed. Francof. et Lips. 1692. and Robertson's Life of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 57. ed. Lond. 1787.]

his master: as what mighty aids he had offered the emperor against the Turk; and as he told them the French king would do. And so taking letters to the king from Frederick, dated July 15, he was dismissed [w]. But four days after, he came again privately with one servant only, and had conference with Spalatinus all alone; telling him, that he had forgot, as he pretended, one part of his message: and that was, that not only his master but the French king was ready to give assistance to the elector and his confederates in the case of religion. And he desired to know in what state the business of the election of Ferdinand stood; whom, being the emperor's brother, he had made king of the Romans by a pretended election: which election gave offence, and Frederick, duke of Saxony, had manifested imperfect and defective. What answer was given to Cranmer was not known: only it was thought that this was somewhat unseasonably acted, because, saith my author, there was peace at this time between the emperor and the English, which the king's ambassador by those offers did desire to disturb [x]. This Seckendorf, ubi supra.

[w] [Discesserat clam ex comitiis Ratisbonensibus, et Ducem occulte in hospitali, ut vulgo vocatur, condicto loco, accessit, literasque regias ad electorem itemque ad Philippum Luneburgensem et Wolfgangum Anhaltinum exhibuit, quas Dux curandas recepit. Ad generalem amicitiæ contestationem et literæ, et Crammeri primo hoc congressu dicta, pertinebant. Rediit sequenti die, et præsentibus Pontano et Spalatino, (cujus relationi hæc debemus), multa et varia quæsivit, de pace nempe cum Cæsare, de statu religionis, de auxiliis contra Turcos, de bonis ecclesiæ, quæ invasisse dicebantur principes. Magnifica prædicabat de rege suo, quanta nempe Cæsari auxilia contra Turcos obtulisset, ut et Galliæ rex si communibus auspiciis bellum gereretur, et compositio cum Johanne Waywoda fieret.—Sic dimissus, acceptisque d. 15. Julii Johannis Friderici ad regem literis, abiit.—Seckendorf. Comment. Hist. Apol. de Lutheran. lib. iii. sect. 7. § xvi. add. (a.) p. 41. ed. Francof. et Lips. 1692.]

[x] [Sed post quatriduum, d. 20. Julii, uno tantum famulo comitatus rediit, et Spalatinum (quia

it seems was the judgment of the protestants concerning this overture to them by the king's ambassador, as though it were not sincere: but I do not find, but that whatsoever peace was now between the emperor and the English, the former league with him was shaking by reason of the emperor's disobliging the king in siding so earnestly with queen Katherine, in the controversy between the king and her.

Pontanus sese excusaverat) solum convenit, eique, quod nuper oblitum se esse fingebat, detexit, paratum esse non solum herum suum, sed et Galliæ regem, ut in causa religionis electori et sociis assisterent, scire etiam voluit, quo statu nunc esset negotium electionis Ferdinandi. Quid responsum illi sit, non invenio, sed facile conjici potest, intempestive actitata illa tunc ab Anglo fuisse, quia iisdem diebus pax cum Cæsare inita fuit, quam reges oblationibus illis turbatam cupiebant. Id. ibid.]

CHAPTER IV. 14

CRANMER MADE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Ann. 1532. Made archbishop of Canterbury.

And this great trust the king, his gracious master, committed to him, as a mark of the honour he had for him, and a sign of further preferment he was minded to advance him to. And about this very time happened a fair opportunity to the king to manifest his favour to him; Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, departing this mortal life, whereby that see became vacant. The preferment indeed seemed too great for Cranmer at one stride to step into, without some other intervening dignities to have been first conferred on him. But the king, thinking him the fittest man of all the English clergy to be promoted to this high office, resolved to give it to him, though now absent abroad upon his business. Hereupon the king commanded him to hasten home, though he concealed the reason from him, which was to take the archbishopric he had designed for him. Which when he came home, in obedience to his majesty, though much against his inclination, and after many refusals, proceeding from his great modesty and humility, and certain scruples, at length he did accept.

His dignities before he was archbishop.

It doth not appear to me what ecclesiastical places he had before: only that he was the king's chaplain, and archdeacon of Taunton. The pope also, in honour to his master, had constituted him penitentiary general of England. He had also a benefice, while he lived in the earl of Wiltshire's family, which was bestowed upon him by the king: a mention whereof I find in one of his letters to the said earl.

Archbishop Warham foretells a Thomas to succeed him.

It was in the month of August 1532, that William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, died: a wise and grave man, a great patron of the most learned Erasmus, and once lord chancellor of England: who seemed to foresee and foretell, or at least to conjecture, that Thomas Cranmer should succeed him, as judging him, in his own mind, the fittest person for the king's and church's service, in that juncture, to enter upon that see. For this truth, methinks, we may pick out of those malicious words of Harpsfield in his Ecclesiastical History, *viz.* That archbishop Warham should say, "That a Thomas should succeed him; who, by a loose and remiss indulgence of a licentious sort of life granted to the people, and by unsound doctrines, would more disgrace the church of Canterbury, and all the rest of the church of England, than Thomas the martyr did amplify it by his martyrdom. And that he admonished his nephew and namesake, William Warham, archdeacon of Canterbury, that if any Thomas should succeed in the see while he lived, he should not by any means enter into his service[y]."

It is not unusual, (nay it is seldom otherwise), for popish historians to stuff their histories with strange prophecies and falsehoods, mixed with some truth. And I suppose the matter might be no more than this: This grave and sober archbishop was sensible of the gross encroach-

[y] [Imo huic nepoti [Gulielmo Waramo] dicere solebat, a cujus ego id rursus ore aliquando audivi, futurum non ita multis postea annis, ut Thomas quidam in metropolitana ille sede locaretur, qui per laxam et remissam vitæ licentioris indulgentiam populo concessam perque prava dogmata, magis Cantuariensem, omnemque reliquam Angliæ ecclesiam deformaret, quam eam olim Thomas martyr suo martyrio amplificasset; admonuitque nepotem, ut si quis forte Thomas, eo vivo ea sede potiretur, ne ulla ratione in illius famulitium se ascribi pateretur. Nicolai Harpsfeldii Hist. Anglic. Eccl. p. 633. ed. Duaci. 1622.]

ments of the bishops of Rome upon the authority of the kings of this realm in their own dominions: and his judgment stood for the restoring of this imperial crown to its ancient right and sovereignty, and for the abridging the papal power. And knowing how learned a man Dr. Thomas Cranmer was, and perceiving what an able instrument he was like to prove in vindicating the king's right to the supremacy in his own kingdoms, the archbishop upon these accounts might think him the fittest to succeed in the archiepiscopal chair, and might have some reason to believe that the king intended him thereunto. 15

Archbishop Warham for the king's supremacy.

And that archbishop Warham was of this judgment, it may appear, if we trace some footsteps of him. In the year 1530, when all the clergy were under a *præmunire*, and a petition was drawing up in the convocation for that cause, the king in the said petition was addressed to by the title of *Supreme head of the church and clergy of England*. At this title, when the archbishop found some of the clergy to boggle, who were yet afraid openly to declare their disallowance of it, he took the opportunity of their silence to pass the title, by saying, that *silence was to be taken for their consent*[z].

In the last synod, wherein this archbishop was a member, and the main director, many things were debated about abolishing the papacy[a]. This synod was prorogued from April 26 to October 5. In the meantime he died. But had he lived, and been well, unto the next sessions, some further steps had been made in evacuating the bishop of Rome's usurpations; as may be guessed by what was done under his influence the last sessions, when the supremacy of that foreign prelate was rejected. Ant. Brit.

[z] [See Epistle Dedicatory, supra.]

[a] [See abp. Parker, de Antiq. Brit. Eccl. in vita Warham. pp. 379. ed. 1572.]

Cranmer's testimony of Warham.

Something more of this archbishop's endeavours of restoring the king to his supremacy appears by what archbishop Cranmer said to Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, before a great assembly, not long before his burning. Brookes had charged him for first setting up the king's supremacy. To which Cranmer replied, "That it was Warham gave the supremacy to Henry VIII, and that he had said, he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God's word would bear it. And that upon this the universities of Cambridge and Oxford were sent to, to know what the word of God would allow touching the supremacy. Where it was reasoned and argued upon at length: and at last both agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to the king, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope[b]." All which was in archbishop Warham's time, and while he was alive, three quarters of a year before ever Cranmer had the archbishopric of Canterbury, as he also added in that audience.

So that, these things considered, we may conclude, that Warham did think that none would be so fit to come after him as Cranmer, a learned and diligent man, to carry on this cause, which he, before him, had begun: and so might speak of him as the properest person to be advanced in this see.

A reflection upon a passage relating to Cranmer in Harpsfield's history.

To this I will add the sense of an ingenious and learned friend of mine concerning this passage in Harpsfield's history; which the author also of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*[c] hath made use of to the good archbishop's discredit: and which Somner also had unluckily selected, though without design, to hurt his good name, and is all he writes

16

[b] [See abp. Cranmer's examination before Brookes. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1875—1880. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[c] [Wood's Athenæ Oxonien. vol. ii. col. 739. ed. Bliss. 1813—20. Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 272. ed. Lond. 1640.]

of him. But may it not be considered, saith he, that the pretended martyr Thomas Becket, though he died in vindication of the privileges of the church, yet he was the first betrayer of the rights of his see? He made the greatest breach upon the authority of the primacy of Canterbury, by resigning the archbishopric into the pope's hands, and receiving it again from him, as the pope's donation. But it is the honour of the blessed martyr, Thomas Cranmer, that he was the first who began to claim the primacy, and retrieve the rights of his see from being slavishly subjected to the Roman power. Indeed, little credit is to be given to the author who first published this story; considering what a violent man he was, and how much prejudiced against Cranmer, and interested in the popish cause; and coming into the archdeaconry of Canterbury by the deprivation of the archbishop's brother. Antiq. of Cant.

Cranmer *noluit episcopari*, had no mind to be archbishop. He loved his studies, and affected retirement, and well knew the dangers and temptations of a public station. But especially he could not induce his mind to take his office from the pope, and to swear fidelity to him as well as to the king: whereby he should ensnare himself in two contrary oaths. Wherefore, when the king sent for him home from his embassy in Germany, with a design to lay that honourable burden upon him, he, guessing the reason, first endeavoured to delay his coming, by signifying to the king some matters of importance that would require his tarrying there somewhat longer for the king's service: hoping in that while the king might have bestowed the place upon some other[d]. In fine, our his- Cranmer tries to evade the archbishopric.

[d] ["I protest before you all, there was never man came more unwillingly to a bishopric than I did to that [of Canterbury], insomuch that when king Henry did send for [me] in post, that I should

torians say, he stayed abroad one half year longer. But I find him in England in the month of November, which was not much more than a quarter of a year after Warham's death[e]. Then the king was married to the Marchioness of Pembroke[f], and Cranmer was present. So that the king must have sent for him home in June, two or three months before the archbishop's death: probably while he was in a declining dying condition. But after, when that which Cranmer seemed to suspect of certain emergencies in those parts, wherein the English state might be concerned, fell not out; the king again commanded his return home. Now more perfectly knowing, by some of his friends, the king's intentions to make him archbishop, he made means by divers of his friends to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller living.

At length the king brake his mind to him, that it was

come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time." Abp. Cranmer's examination before Brookes. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1876. ed. Lond. 1583. This assertion has been questioned, but without sufficient reason, by Lingard. Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 254. See also Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 50.]

[e] [Archbishop Warham died Aug. 23, 1532. The precise date of Cranmer's return from the continent is not known. Strype here states, that Cranmer was in England and present at the marriage of Anne Boleyn, on the 14th of November. He may possibly have been then in England, but neither was Anne Boleyn married on that day, nor was Cranmer present on the occasion, as he himself has positively stated in his letter to archdeacon Hawkyns. (See abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter xiv. pp. 244—247. and also the Appendix, in which this document is for the first time inserted.) It is certain that on October 20th he was still at Villach in Germany; and the letter (see Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter iii. pp. 232—236.) which he wrote from that place contains no allusion to his coming home. The bulls for his promotion were also not applied for at Rome till the end of January, 153$\frac{2}{3}$.]

[f] ["In September following, [A. D. 1532.] the king created Anne Boleyn marchioness of Pembroke, to bring her by degrees up

his full purpose to bestow that dignity upon him for his service, and for the good opinion he conceived of him. But his long disabling himself nothing dissuaded the king, till at last he humbly craved the king's pardon for that he should declare to him, and that was, "That if he should accept it, he must receive it at the pope's hand, which he neither would nor could do: for that his highness was the only supreme governor of the church of England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal; and that the full right of donation of all manner of benefices and bishoprics, as well as any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to him, and not to any other foreign authority. And therefore if he might serve God, him, and his country, in that vocation, he would accept it of his majesty, and of no stranger, who had no authority within this realm[g]." Whereat the king made a pause; and then asked him how he was able to prove it. At which time he alleged several texts out of scripture, and the fathers, proving the supreme authority of kings in their own realms and dominions: and withal shewing the intolerable usurpations of the bishops of Rome. Of this the king talked several times with him; and perceiving that he could not be brought to acknowledge the pope's authority, the king called one Dr. Oliver, an eminent lawyer, and other civilians, and devised with them how he might bestow the archbishopric upon him, salving his conscience. They said, he might do it by way of protestation: and so one to be sent to Rome to take the oath, and do every thing in his name. Cranmer said to this, it should be *super animam suam;* and seemed to be

Declares the reason thereof to the king.

17

to the height for which he had designed her." Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 252. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[g] [See examination of abp. Cranmer before Brookes. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1881. ed. Lond. 1583.]

satisfied in what the lawyers told him. And accordingly, when he was consecrated, made his protestation, "That he did not admit the pope's authority any further than it agreed with the express word of God; and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors, when there should be occasion[h]." And so he did.

The archbishop's brother is made archdeacon of Canterbury.

Whether Warham, the archdeacon, had conceived any prejudice against our new archbishop, by some warning given him by the former archbishop, as was hinted above[i]; or whether he was willing to give place upon Cranmer's entreaty, that he might provide for his brother; so it was, that Edmund Cranmer, brother to the archbishop, succeeded Warham in the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and the provostship of Wingham: who parted with both these dignities by cession: and, by the privity and consent of the archbishop, he had a stipend or pension of sixty pounds per annum allowed him, during his life, out of the archdeaconry; and twenty pounds per annum out of Wingham, by his successor aforesaid, who continued archdeacon until queen Mary's days, and was then deprived; and his prebend, and his parsonage of Ickham, all taken from him in the year 1554, for being a married clerk. The first was given to Nicholas Harpsfield; the second to Robert Collins, bachelor of law, and commissary of Canterbury; and the third to Robert Marsh.

Somner, Hist. of Cant. p. 322. ex lib. Eccles. Cant.[j]

The king linked Cranmer with him in all his proceedings about queen Katherine.

The king had before linked him into his great business about queen Katherine and the lady Ann. So now, when he had nominated him for archbishop, he made him a party and an actor in every step almost which he took in that affair. For to fetch the matter a little backward;

[h] [See above, p. 28.]

[i] [Id. ibid.]

[j] [Ed. Lond. 1640. See also Le Neve's Fasti, p. 13. ed. Lond. 1716.]

not long before the archiepiscopal see was devolved upon Cranmer, the king had created the lady Ann marchioness of Pembroke[k], and taken her along with him in great state into France; when, by their mutual consent, there was an interview appointed between the two kings. At Calais king Henry permitted Francis, the French king, to take a view of this lady, who then made both kings a 18
curious and rich mask, where both honoured her by dancing: this was in the month of October[l]. In the month before, I find a parcel of very rich jewels were sent Sept. 21.
from Greenwich to Hampton-Court by Mr. Norrys; probably he who was groom of the stole, and executed upon queen Ann's business afterwards. Which jewels, as some of them might be for the king's own wearing, now he was going into France; so, in all probability, others were either lent or given to the marchioness to adorn and make her fine, when she should appear and give her entertainment to the French king. For the sake of such as be curious, I have set down, in the Appendix, a particular of these Appendix, No. III.
most splendid and royal jewels, from an original signed with the king's own hand in token of his receipt of them.

Immediately after the king's and the marchioness's return from France, he married her. At which wedding, [*Et*] *rex* [*nihilominus*] *D. Annam Bullenam*,
though very private, the archbishop was one that assisted, according to the lord Herbert; but, according to the author of the Britannic Antiquities, did the sacred office[m]. When *Thoma*

[k] [See above, p. 32. n. f.]

[l] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. I. p. 252. ed. Oxon. 1829. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 203, 4. ed. Lond. 1840, 1.]

[m] ["On which day (Nov. 14, 1532,) some write, he privately married the marchioness, though others place it on the 25th of January following, Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and President of Wales—celebrating the marriage in the presence of archbishop Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, and bro-

Cranmero sacra ministrante, uxorem duxit.

she was crowned queen, which was Whitsuntide following, the archbishop performed the ceremonies[n]. When, after that, the king had a daughter by her, he would have the archbishop assist at the christening, and be her godfather[o]. And before this, when queen Katherine was to be divorced from the king, and the pope's dispensation of that marriage declared null, our archbishop pronounced the sentence, and made the declaration solemnly and publicly at

thers."—Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. pp. 388, 9. ed. Lond. 1672. abp. Parker, de Antiq. Brit. Eccl. in vita Cranmer, p. 384. ed. 1572. Collier (Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 204), states that, "soon after his (Henry VIII's) arrival (from France), he was privately married to Anne Boleyn, Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, officiating in the marriage. At this solemnity there were none present, excepting the duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, brother, and Dr. Cranmer." "But now, sir, you may not imagine that this coronation was before her marriage; for she was married much about St. Paul's day last. Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married her; which was plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done." —See abp. Cranmer's Works. Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter xiv. p. 246, and Appendix. The marriage, therefore, took place Jan. 25th, at which Cranmer was not present. Stow (p. 543.) gives the correct date, but Holinshed (Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 929. ed. Lond. 1587.) and Hall (Chronicles, fol. ccix. 2. ed. Lond. 1548.) state it incorrectly to have been St. Erkenwald's day. Nov. 14, 1352.]

[n] [A full description of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, which took place on Whit-sunday, June 1st, is given by the archbishop in his letter to archdeacon Hawkyns, referred to in the foregoing note, which will be found in the Appendix.]

[o] ["The queen's grace was brought [to bed] about the 13th or 14th day of September, of a princess. I myself was godfather; the old duchess of Northfolk and my lady marquess Dorset were godmothers."—Abp. Cranmer's Works. Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter lxxxiii. p. 274. The date assigned to this event by the archbishop is incorrect, the princess Elizabeth being born Sunday, September 7th; an official note from Anne Boleyn to lord Cobham, announcing the event, still preserved in the Harleian collection, and printed in the State Papers, proves the fact; it probably was prepared previously to Anne Boleyn's ac-

Dunstable Priory[p]. Thus the king dipped and engaged Cranmer with himself in all his proceeding in this cause. Now as all these doings had danger in them, so especially this last highly provoked the pope for doing this without his leave and authority, as being a presumptuous encroachment upon his prerogative. Insomuch that a public act was made at Rome, that unless the king undid all that he had done, and restored all things *in integrum*, leaving them to his decision, he would excommunicate him. And this sentence was affixed and set up publicly at Dunkirk[q]. Which put the king upon an appeal from the pope to the next general council, lawfully called. The archbishop also, foreseeing the pope's threatening hovering likewise over his head, by the king's advice, made his appeal by the English ambassador there. I have seen the king's original letter to Dr. Boner, ordering him to signify to the pope, in order and form of law, his appeal, sending him also the instrument of his appeal, with the proxy devised for that purpose. This bare date August 18th, from his castle at Windsor. I have reposited it in the Appendix. Which order of the king Boner did accordingly discharge at an audience he got of the pope at Marseilles, November 7. And that letter which the lord Herbert saith he saw of Boner to the king, wherein he signified as much, must be his answer to this of the king to him.

The king and the archbishop appeal from the pope to a general council.

The king writes to Dr. Boner in that behalf.

No IV.

couchement, since the word prince has been changed in two places into princess by the insertion of an s. The following lines are found in Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. ii. p. 985.

Septembris (Deus hoc voluit) quæ septima lux est
Consecrata venit Domino volventibus annis
Parturiit conjux Henrici principis Anna, &c.]

[p] [See abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter xiii. and the sentence of divorce, pp. 243, 4. Cranmer also passed judgment, confirming the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, May 28, 1533.]

[q] [See Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 395. ed. Lond. 1672.]

Anno 1533. The archbishop is consecrated.

Dr. Cranmer having now yielded to the king to accept the archbishopric, it was in the beginning of the next year, viz. 1533, March 30, and in the 24th of king Henry, that he received his consecration: but that ushered in with abundance of bulls, some dated in February, and some in March, from pope Clement, to the number of eleven: as may be seen at length in the beginning of this archbishop's register.

19

The pope's bulls[r].

The first was to king Henry, upon his nomination of Cranmer to him to be archbishop. The pope alloweth and promoteth him accordingly. The second was a bull to Cranmer himself, signifying the same. The third bull absolved him from any sentences of excommunication, suspension, interdiction, &c. It was written from the pope to him, under the title of archdeacon of Taunton in the church of Wells, and master in theology; and ran thus:

Nos ne forsan aliquibus sententiis, censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis, ligatus sis, &c. Volentes te a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et pœnis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, &c. authoritate prædicta, tenore præsentium, absolvimus, et absolutum fore nuntiamus, non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, &c. One might think that this bull was drawn up peculiarly for Cranmer's case: who, by reason he might have been suspected as infected with Lutheranism, or had meddled too much in the king's matrimonial cause; and so entangled in the church's censures, might have need of such assoiling. But I suppose it was but a customary bull. A fourth bull was to the suffragans of Canterbury; that is, to all the bishops in the province; signifying

[r] [See Mason's Consecration of Bishops in the Church of England, pp. 65, 6. ed. Lond. 1613.]

Cranmer's advancement to be their metropolitan. Another to the city and diocese of Canterbury. Another to the chapter of the said church. Another to the vassals of the church: that is, to all such as held lands of it. Another to the people of the city. Another, wherewith the pall was sent to the archbishop of York[s] and the bishop of London[t]. Another, of the destination of the pall: which, the bull saith, was taken *de corpore B. Petri,* to be presented to him by the archbishop of York and the bishop of London, or one of them, after he had received the gift of consecration. In this bull of the destination is an order, not to use the pall but on those proper days which were expressly mentioned in the privileges of the church: on purpose to beget a greater esteem and veneration of this, and whatsoever baubles else came from Rome, and brought such treasure thither.

The archbishop surrenders them to the king.

The archbishop, according to custom, received these bulls, which the pope sent him to invest him with the archbishopric. But he surrendered them up to the king; because he would not own the pope as the giver of this ecclesiastical dignity, but the king only, as he declared at his trial before queen Mary's commissioners at Oxford in the year 1555[u].

The method of the consecration.

As to the act of consecration; first, they assembled in the chapter-house of the king's college of St. Stephen, near the king's palace of Westminster. Present as witnesses, Watkins, the king's prothonotary; Dr. John Tregonwel; Thomas Bedyl, clerk of the king's council; Richard Guent, doctor of decrees, of the court of Canterbury principal official; and John Cocks, the archbishop's auditor

[s] [Edward Lee.]

[t] [John Stokesley.]

[u] [See Examination of abp. Cranmer before Brookes. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1881. ed. Lond. 1583.]

of the audience, and vicar-general in spirituals. The first
20 thing that was done by the archbishop elect, was for the satisfaction of his conscience: who was now before his consecration to take an oath of fidelity to the pope, which will follow by and by. This he saw consisted by no means with his allegiance to his sovereign: and therefore, how common and customary soever it were for bishops to take it, yet Cranmer in the first place, in the said chapter-house, before the said witnesses, made a protestation, wherein he declared, that he intended not by the oath that he was to take, and was customary for bishops to take to the pope, to bind himself to do any thing contrary to the laws of God, the king's prerogative, or to the commonwealth and statutes of the kingdom: nor to tie himself up from speaking his mind freely in matters relating to the reformation of religion, the government of the church of England, and prerogative of the crown. And that according to this interpretation and meaning only he would take the oath, and no otherwise[v]. This protestation, because I think it is not recorded in our historians, except Mason[w], (and in him imperfect,) I have put it into the Appendix *verbatim*, as I transcribed it out of the archbishop's register. And having made this protestation, he bad the prothonotary to make one or more public instruments thereof, and desired the forementioned persons to be witnesses thereunto. After this protestation made, he, in the presence of these witnesses, being arrayed in sacerdotal garments, went up to the step of the high altar to receive consecration; where was sitting in a chair, honourably adorned, John Longland, the bishop of Lincoln, having on his pontificals, assisted by John Voicy,

De Minister. p. 154. No. V.

[v] [Id. ibid.]

[w] [See Mason's Consecration of the Bishops in the Church of England, pp. 71, 2. ed. Lond. 1613.]

bishop of Exon, and Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph; holding in his hand a schedule with the oath, which he was now going to take to the pope: and having withal his protestation, he, before the aforesaid witnesses, asserted and protested, that he would read the schedule, and perform the oath therein contained under the said protestation, which he said he made the same day in the chapter-house before those witnesses, and no otherwise, nor in any other manner. And then presently after, kneeling on his knees, read the schedule, containing the oath to the pope: which I have reposited in the Appendix. No. VI.

Then the bishops proceeded to the consecrating of the archbishop. And then again, after the solemn consecration was finished, being about to receive his pall, when he was to take another oath to the pope, he protested again, in the presence of the same witnesses, that he took the following oath under the same protestation as he made before in the chapter-house, nor would perform it any other ways; and then took the oath. And after he had taken it, desired the prothonotary the third time to make a public instrument or instruments thereof. Which he did.

The archbishop's oath for the temporalties.

To these oaths I will add one more, which the archbishop took with a better stomach to the king, for his temporalties. This was for the most part the accustomable oath of bishops to the king, when they sued for their temporalties; but hardly reconcilable with the oath they had taken to the pope: because in this oath was mentioned a renouncing of all privileges and grants of the pope, by virtue of his bulls, that might be prejudicial to the king, and an acknowledgment, that they held their 21 bishoprics only of the king, which the archbishop worded more fully, viz. That he held his archbishopric of the

king immediately and only, and of none other. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this oath.

No. VII.

The archbishop pronounceth the divorce.

One of the first services the archbishop did for the king was the pronouncing the sentence of divorce from his former queen Katherine, which was done May 23[x]; but drew an implacable hatred upon him from the pope and emperor abroad, as well as the papists at home. And queen Mary would not forget it when she came to the crown, taking then her full revenge upon him: though in the same commission, wherein this sentence was pronounced, sat the bishops of Winton[y], London[z], Bath[a], Lincoln,[b] and many other great clerks. And though he pronounced the sentence, he was but the mouth of the rest, and they were all in as deep as he.

The archbishop's judgment of the marriage.

There is a short account of archbishop Cranmer's judgment of the unlawfulness of this marriage, digested under twelve articles, with his own name writ by himself on the top of the paper; which bishop Burnet transcribed from a Cotton manuscript, and inserted into his history. It bears this title: *Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonstratur, Divortium inter Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem Invictissimum, et Serenissimam Catharinam necessario esse faciendum.* The twelfth and concluding article is this: "We think that the pretended matrimony of Henry, king of England, and Katherine the queen, hath been and is none at all; being prohibited both by the law of God and nature[c]."

Vol i. Collect. p. 95.

[x] [See Works of abp. Cranmer, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter xiii. p. 243. also above, p. 37.]

[y] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[z] [John Stokesley.]

[a] [John Clerk.]

[b] [John Longland.]

[c] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat., vol. i. pt. ii. book ii. pp. 151, 2. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

CHAPTER V.

THE ARCHBISHOP VISITS HIS DIOCESE.

After his sentence against queen Katherine, and confirmation of queen Ann's marriage, one thing he did, which looked as if he was not like to prove any great friend to a reformation: for he forbad all preaching throughout his diocese, and warned the rest of the bishops throughout England to do the same, as I have it from an old journal made by a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. But this was only for a time, till orders for preachers and the beads could be finished[e]: it being thought convenient that preaching at this juncture should be restrained, because now the matter of sermons chiefly consisted in tossing about the king's marriage with the lady Ann, and condemning so publicly and boldly his doings against queen Katherine; the priests being set on work by her friends and faction.

Ann. 1533.

The archbishop forbids preaching.

Foxii MSS.[d]

In October or November the archbishop went down to Canterbury, in order to a visitation.

Visits his diocese.

The third day of December the archbishop received the pontifical seat in the monastery of the holy Trinity[f]. And soon after, viz. the ninth of the same month, began to go on visitation throughout all his diocese, that he

August. Monks' journal.

[d] ["The same year (i. e. 1533.) Mr. Thomas Cranmer was made archbishop of Canterbury, who did forbid that the word of God should be preached throughout his diocese, and warned the rest of the bishops throughout England to do the same." Harl. MSS. 419. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 112. British Museum. Original.]

[e] [The order taken for preaching and bidding of beads &c. took place about the month of June, A. D. 1534.]

[f] [Harl. MSS. 419. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 112. as above, n. d.]

might have finished that work before the sessions of the parliament.

The delusion of a nun in Kent.

22 This same year a remarkable delusion was discovered in the archbishop's diocese, and even under his nose, the scene being chiefly laid in Canterbury, by some belonging to the cathedral church. For a certain nun, called Elizabeth Barton, by marvellous hypocrisy, mocked all Kent; and almost all England: for which cause she was put in prison in London; where she confessed many horrible things against the king and the queen. This forenamed Elizabeth had many adherents, but especially Dr. Bocking, monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury, who was her chief author in her dissimulation. All of them at the last were accused of treason, heresy, and conspiracy; and so stood in penance before the open cross of St. Paul's in London; and in Canterbury, in the churchyard of the monastery of the holy Trinity, at the sermon time, they stood over the high seat: where of the preacher they were grievously rebuked for their horrible fact. And in April the next year, she, with Bocking and Dering, another monk of Canterbury, were led out of prison through all the streets of London unto Tyburn, where she and these monks, and also two brothers of the Minors, suffered with the rest upon the gallows for treason and heresy[g].

The archbishop appeals from the pope.

In the month of November the archbishop sent a letter to Boner the king's ambassador at Marseilles, together with his appeal from the pope, to be there signified, as was hinted before. The reason whereof was this: upon the king's divorce from queen Katherine, the pope had

[g] [For Cranmer's own narrative of this matter, see Appendix, wherein a letter to archdeacon Hawkins is inserted from the works of abp. Cranmer, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter lxxxiii. pp. 272–274.]

by a public instrument declared the divorce to be null and void, and threatened him with excommunication, unless he would revoke all that he had done. Gardiner bishop of Winton about this time, and upon this occasion, was sent ambassador to the French king; and Boner soon after followed him to Marseilles, where Gardiner, at the interview between the French king and the pope, now was: for the king and the council apprehended some mischief to be hatching against the kingdom by the pope; who was now inciting the emperor and other princes to make war upon us. And indeed he had vaunted, as the lord Herbert declares, that he would set all Christendom against the king[h]. And the emperor in discourse had averred, that by the means of Scotland he would avenge his aunt's quarrel. The archbishop in this juncture had secret intimation of a design to excommunicate him, and interdict his church. Whereupon, as the king by Boner, November 7, had made his appeal from the pope to the next general council lawfully called; so, by the king and council's advice, the archbishop soon after did the same; sending his appeal with his proxy, under his seal, to Boner, desiring him, together with Gardiner, to consult together, and to intimate his appeal in the best manner they could think expedient for him. And this letter he wrote by the king's own commandment. It was not the hand of the archbishop, nor of his secretary: so I suppose it was drawn up by some of his own lawyers; and is as followeth:

"In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is, as you know right well, I stand in dread, lest our holy father the pope do intend to make some manner of

The archbishop's letter to Boner. Cleopat. E. 6[i].

[h] [Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 385. ed. Lond. 1672.]

[i] [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 234. b. British Museum. Original.]

prejudicial process against me and my church. And therefore, having probable conjectures thereof, I have
23 appealed[j] from his holiness to the general council, accordingly as his highness[k] and his council have advised me to do. Which my appeal[l] and procuracy under my seal I do send unto you herewith[m]; desiring you right heartily to have me commended to my lord of Winchester[n], and with his advice and counsel to intimate the said provocation after the best manner that his lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the king's highness commandeth me this to do, as you shall, I trust, further perceive by his grace's letter[o]: nothing doubting in your goodness, but at this mine own desire you will be contented to take this pains, though his highness shall percase forget to write unto you therein. Which your pains and kindness, if it shall lie in me in time to come to recompense,

[j] [I have provoked. Cotton MSS.]

[k] [According as the king's highness. Cotton MSS.]

[l] [My provocation &c. a procuracy. Cotton MSS.]

[m] [Burnet (Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. p. 160. ed. Oxon. 1829), says that Cranmer sent the instrument with a warrant to execute it to Crumwell, that it might be sent to the bishop of Winchester, to get it to be intimated to the pope in the best manner that could be thought of; but he gives no authority for his assertion. It is not probable that the archbishop's appeal was ever presented, since Boner, in a lengthy letter to Henry VIII., dated Nov. 13th, nine days previously to that of the archbishop above, states that the pope had gone towards Rome from Marseilles, Nov. 12th, and that he was leaving for Lyons, Nov. 13th, the day on which his letter is dated, probably with a view to his return home. See Boner's letter to the king, in Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. part 11. App. book 11. no. 23. pp. 49-62.]

[n] [Stephen Gardiner, who at this time was at Marseilles as ambassador from Henry VIII. to Francis I.]

[o] ["Commanded me thus to do, as ye shall I trust further perceive by his grace's letters." Cotton MSS.]

I will not forget it with God's grace. Who preserve you as myself. From Lambeth, the 27th day of November. [1533.]

"THOMAS CANTUAR."

Disputes in the parliament against the pope's supremacy[p].

Cranmer being now placed at the head of the church of England, next under God and the king, and the chief care of it devolved upon him, his great study was conscientiously to discharge this high vocation. And one of the first things wherein he shewed his good service to the church was done in the parliament in the latter end of this year, 1533. When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was propounded, then the old collections of the new archbishop did him good service; for the chief, and in a manner the whole burden of this weighty cause was laid upon his shoulders. Insomuch that he was forced to answer to all that ever the whole rabble of the papists could say for the defence of the pope's supremacy: and he answered so plainly, directly, and truly to all their arguments, and proved so evidently and stoutly, both by the word of God, and consent of the primitive church, that this usurped power of the pope is a mere tyranny, and directly against the law of God; and that the power of emperors and kings is the highest power here upon earth; unto which, bishops, priests, popes, and cardinals ought to submit themselves, and are as much bound to obey as their temporal subjects, or laymen, (as the priests call them;) that the issue was the abolishing of that foreign papal power, and the expulsion of it out of this realm, by the full consent of parliament[q].

Life of Cranmer, inter Foxii MSS.

[p] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. I. pp. 276 et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[q] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 90. b. The archbishop's collection of tenets from the canon law will be found in the Appendix.]

Licenses for chapels.

A license, dated Feb. 13, this year, was granted by the archbishop to Mary, the relict of sir Henry Guilford, kt. to have the eucharist, matrimony, and baptism ministered in any chapel or oratory within her manors where she should reside, during her life. And such a license, dated also Feb. 13, the next year was granted by him to Margaret, marchioness of Dorset. Whether indulged to them by the archbishop, the rather to free them from danger for not frequenting their parish churches, and for the avoiding the superstitious and idolatrous worship there performed; and that there might be some private places for purer worshipping God, and administration of the sacraments; or only for the convenience of those ladies; the reader hath liberty to judge.

Cran. Reg.

CHAPTER VI. 24

THE ARCHBISHOP PRESSETH THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

The archbishop labours the reformation of the Church.

This rub of the papal power being now taken out of the way, and the king's supremacy settled in the next sessions of parliament, in November 1534, a way was opened for a reformation of errors and abuses in religion. So that, as the archbishop judged it a thing impossible to make any amendment of religion under the pope's dominion; so he thought it now, (the same being dispatched out of the realm), a meet time to restore the true doctrine of Christ, according to the word of God, and the old primitive church, within his jurisdiction and cure; and, with the said pope, to abolish also all false doctrine, errors, and heresies, by him brought into the church; for the accomplishing of which he let pass no opportunities.

What he did this convocation.

A convocation now afforded him one. Our archbishop, from his first entrance upon his dignity, had it much in his mind to get the holy Scriptures put into the vulgar language, and a liberty for all to read them. The convocation now was so well disposed, by the influence of the archbishop and his friends, that they did petition the king, that the Bible might be translated by some learned men of his highness' nomination. And as this good motion was briefly made in the house by the archbishop, so they agreed upon him to carry their petition. But they clogged it with another, which the archbishop did not so well approve of: for about the month of December they passed this order of convocation: "The bishops,

abbots, priors of this upper house of convocation, of the province of Canterbury, met together in the chapter-house of St. Paul, unanimously did consent, that the most reverend father the archbishop should make instance in their names to the king, that his majesty would vouchsafe, for the increase of the faith of his subjects, to decree and command, that all his subjects, in whose possession any books of suspect doctrine were, especially in the vulgar language, imprinted beyond or on this side the sea, should be warned, within three months, to bring them in before persons to be appointed by the king, under a certain pain to be limited by the king."

"And that, moreover, his majesty would vouchsafe to decree, that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue, by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king, and to be delivered unto the people according to their learning." This was resolved in the convocation, December 19.

Accordingly the king issued out, soon after, his proclamation. What this proclamation was I do not know, unless it were one I meet with about this time, against bringing in or printing seditious books of Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, who were said to be lately come into the realm; and against some of his own subjects, who publicly disputed in taverns and other open places, upon those points of religion, which the king was offended withal. For the correction and regulating of which, the king in the said proclamation commanded sundry articles to be observed; which, for the length of them, I have put into the Appendix. Unless perhaps this proclamation may belong to the year 1538.

No. VIII.

A book for preaching and the beads.

About the month of June this year, was a book drawn up for bishops and priests, wherein was an order for preaching; and in the same were forms devised for the

beads, as well for preachers as curates[r]: in which forms the king's title of *supreme head* was specified. In this book was commandment given by the king, that every preacher should, before Easter, once in solemn audience, declare the usurped jurisdiction, within this realm, of the bishop of Rome, and the king's just cause to decline from the same: and also to open and declare such things as might avow and justify the king's refusal of marriage with the princess dowager, and his contract anew with queen Ann. And also in the same book an order was given for the suppression of the general sentence of curse. This book the archbishop, who we may well suppose had a great hand in it, sent, by the king's commandment, to all the bishops, and to the archbishop of York[s], though out of his province: that archbishop lying under some jealousy, as it seems, with the king.

Dispersed by the archbishop to all the bishops.

Therefore, after the receipt of the book, the said archbishop of York the next Sunday, which was the second Sunday after Trinity, went from Cawood to York, and there, in his own person, declared, as well the king's cause touching the matrimony, as his refusal of the pope's jurisdiction, so fully, that nothing that needed to be opened was left unspoken, as that archbishop wrote himself to the king in his own vindication. And, that the auditory might be the greater, he sent to York forthwith, upon the receipt of the book, to publish there, that he would be there the next Sunday following, and caused the churches to make an end of their service in such time,

The archbishop of York preaches at York.

[r] [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. f. 286. British Museum. Original. See also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. App. b. ii. No. 29. pp. 79—84. ed. Oxon. 1829. abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. App. pp. 460—462. See above, p. 43. n. [e].]

[s] [Edward Lee. See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. letter xcviii. pp. 281, 2.]

as every man might have opportunity to be at the sermon: and especially required the mayor and his brethren, and one Mr. Magnus, and sir George Lawson, his majesty's chaplains, to be there: and a very great confluence there was. Then the archbishop preached from that text, *Uxorem duxi*, &c. Whence he took occasion to utter and declare both his foresaid matters, and the injury done to the king's highness by pope Clement.

The clergy and universities subscribe against the pope.

As the convocation this year had declared the pope to have no jurisdiction in this kingdom, so this would not serve the king till all the learned and spiritual men in England had subscribed to it with their hands. The archbishop's church of Canterbury began. For the prior and convent thereof, moved and influenced not a little by their diocesan, solemnly subscribed an instrument for abolishing the pope's supremacy, and for acknowledgment of the king supreme head of the Church of England, under this position:

Cleopat. E. 6. p. 208.[t]

Quod Romanus episcopus non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a Deo sibi collatam in hoc regno Angliæ, quam quivis externus episcopus. That is,

26 *That the bishop of Rome hath not some greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in this realm of England, than any other foreign bishop.*

This was consented to by the prior's own hand subscribed, and sixty-nine of the convent besides: the original whereof is in a volume of the Cotton library. In Page 458. another place of the same volume is extant the subscription of the bishops, deans, and several abbots[u]; and, after that, of the university of Oxford, and all the particular

[t] [Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 208. British Museum. Original.]

[u] [Id. fol. 458.]

colleges: and, after that, the names of all the subscribing priors of England.

Cranmer and others administer the oath of succession to the clergy.

The archbishop was one employed about the act of succession, that was made the last sessions of parliament: which was to invest the succession to the crown upon the heirs of queen Ann; and that queen Katherine should be no more called queen, but princess dowager. In the preamble to the act, there were certain touches against the pope's supremacy[v], and against his power of dispens-

[v] [Stat. 25. Hen. VIII. cap. 22. in the Statute Book; 34. in the Record; 26. in the Journal. The following is the substance of the preamble of the act.—" The distractions that had been in England about the succession to the crown, which had occasioned the effusion of much blood, with many other mischiefs, all which flowed from the want of a clear decision of the true title, from which the popes had usurped a power of investing such as pleased them in other princes' kingdoms, and princes had often maintained such donations for their other ends; therefore, to avoid the like inconveniences, the king's former marriage with the princess Katherine is judged contrary to the laws of God, and void, and of no effect; and the sentence passed by the archbishop of Canterbury, annulling it, is confirmed, and the lady Katherine is thenceforth to be reputed only princess dowager, and not queen, and the marriage with queen Ann is established and confirmed: and marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses, (which are enumerated in the statute), are declared to be unlawful, according to the judgment of the convocations of this realm, and of the most famous universities, and learned men abroad, any dispensations to the contrary notwithstanding, which are also declared null, since contrary to the laws of God; and all that were married within these degrees are appointed to be divorced, and the children begotten in such marriages were declared illegitimate: and all the issue that should be between the king and the present queen is declared lawful, and the crown was to descend on his issue male by her, or any other wife; or in default of issue male, to the issue female by the queen; and in default of any such, to the right heirs of the king's highness for ever; and any that after the first of May should maliciously divulge any thing to the slander of the king's marriage, or of the issue begotten in it, were to be adjudged for mis-

ing in the king's former marriage with his brother's wife, carnally known by him. To this act all persons were to swear, to accept and maintain the same, upon pain of treason. The archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor Audley, secretary Crumwel, the abbot of Westminster[w], and others, were the king's commissioners appointed to tender this oath. The nobility and gentry

prision of treason, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's will, and forfeit all their goods and chattels to him; and if the queen outlived the king, she is declared regent till the issue of her were of age, if a son, eighteen, and if a daughter, sixteen years of age; and all the king's subjects were to swear that they would maintain the contents of this act; and whoever, being required, did refuse it, was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and punished accordingly." The oath, it seems, was likewise agreed on in the house of lords; for the form of it is set down in the Journal as follows:—"Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the king's majesty, and to his heirs of his body, of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife queen Ann, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heirs of our said sovereign lord according to the limitation in the statute made for surety of his succession in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made by you, to any person or persons, that then ye to repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said act of succession, and all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all other acts and statutes made in confirmation, or for execution of the same, or of any thing therein contained. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree or condition soever they be; and in no wise to do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apartly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and all saints, and the holy evangelists."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 294—297. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[w] [William Benson or Boston.]

took it, none denying, to which they set their hands in a long list.

On the 13th of April, the commissioners sat at Lambeth to receive the oaths of the clergy, and chiefly those of London, that had not yet sworn; who all took it, not one excepted. And a certain doctor, vicar of Croydon, that it seems made some boggle before, went up with the rest: of whom sir Thomas More, who then stood by, made an observation, how, as he passed, he went to my lord's buttery-hatch, and called for drink, and drank *valde familiariter;* whether, saith he sarcastically, it were for gladness, or dryness, or *quod ille notus erat Pontifici.* The oath also now was taken by Dr. Wylson, a great court-divine in those days, who, for queen Katherine's business, was a prisoner at this time, though a great while he was unsatisfied, and consulted much with sir Thomas More about the lawfulness of taking it.

And to sir Thomas More, who refused it.

The same day were conveyed hither from the tower, bishop Fisher, and sir Thomas More, the only layman at this meeting, to tender this oath to them: who both, being separately called, refused it. After the clergy were sworn and dispatched, immediately sir Thomas by himself was sent for the second time. Now he had much talk with the lords, who would fain have brought him to comply. They urged him to declare the causes why he would not swear: but he excused his so doing. Then they charged him with obstinacy: he said, it was not obstinacy, but because he might not declare his mind without peril of incurring the king's further displeasure. He told the commissioners, that for his part he condemned not the consciences of any; but that he was dissatisfied in his own conscience for certain reasons. The archbishop, taking hold of this, spake to him thus; "That it appeared well, that sir Thomas did not take

Sir Thomas More's letters.

Cranmer's argument with him.

27 it for a very sure thing and a certain, that he might not lawfully swear, but rather as a thing uncertain and doubtful. But you know, said my lord, for a certainty, and for a thing without doubt, that you be bound to obey your sovereign lord the king. And therefore are you bound to leave off the doubt of your unsure conscience, in refusing the oath, and take the sure way in obeying of your prince, who commands you to swear." This argument, as sir Thomas confessed in one of his letters to his daughter Roper, seemed so subtle, and with such authority, coming out of so noble a prelate's mouth, that he could answer again nothing thereto: but only that he thought with himself, that he might not so do, because that in his conscience this was one of the causes in which he was bounden, that he should not obey his prince; sith that whatsoever other folks thought in the matter, (whose conscience or learning, as he said, he would not condemn, or take upon him to judge), yet in his conscience the truth seemed on the other side, wherein he had informed his conscience neither suddenly nor slightly, but by long leisure and diligent search for the matter.

More offers to swear to the succession itself.

In fine, the farthest sir Thomas could be brought, and which he offered voluntarily that morning, was to swear to the succession, (which was the main design of the act,) though not to the preamble[x]. At parting the lord chancellor bade the secretary, before More, take notice, that More denied not, but was content to swear the succession. More assented, and said, in that point he would be contented, so that he might see the oath so framed, as might stand with his conscience.

[x] [See abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter cv. p. 285.]

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, offered the same before this assembly that More had done: and, in a letter of his afterwards writ to the secretary, assigned the reason why he could with a good conscience swear to the succession, viz. because he doubted not but that the prince of a realm, with the assent of the nobles and commons, might appoint his successors according as he pleased. In the Appendix this letter will be found, which bishop Fisher writ upon occasion of the secretary's advice, who laboured to gain him, that he should write to the king, to declare his mind to him in swearing to the succession; and to petition him to let that suffice, because his conscience could not consent to the rest of the act. The secretary also had sent unto Fisher, lying in the Tower, Lee, bishop elect of Lichfield and Coventry; to whom he declared again, that he would take the oath to the succession; and moreover, that he would swear never to meddle more in disputation of the matrimony, and promised all allegiance to the king. But he told Lee, his conscience could not be convinced that the marriage was against the law of God, because of a prohibition in the Levitical law. See Lee's letter in the Appendix, to secretary Crumwel.

Bishop Fisher offers the same.

No. IX.

No. X.

The archbishop, soon after that meeting of the commissioners at Lambeth, retired to Croydon: and being a man not kind to his own party and persuasion only, and fierce and bloody-minded to them that differed from him, but compassionate towards all, friend and foe; his tender spirit suggested to him, to make this serve for an occasion to intercede for More and Fisher to Crumwel; shewing him in a letter, dated April the 17th, how advisable in his judgment it would be to be satisfied with that oath they had offered to swear, in case they would swear to maintain the said succession against all power

The archbishop writes to Crumwel in their behalf.

28

and potentates: urging to him that there would be these advantages gained thereby. First, that it would be a means to satisfy the consciences of the princess dowager, and the lady Mary; who it seems made it a matter of conscience and sin to abandon their titles. Also, that it might tend to stop the emperor's mouth, and the mouths of other their friends, when Fisher and More, who had stickled so much for them, should now own that succession, which would be in effect a disowning of them. Secondly, that it might be a means to resolve and quiet also many others in the realm that were in doubt, when such great men should affirm by oath and subscription, that the succession mentioned in the said act was good and according to God's laws. And he thought, that after two such had sworn, there would be scarce one in the kingdom would reclaim against it. And thirdly, that though a great many in the realm could not be brought to alter from their opinions of the validity of the king's former marriage, and of the bishop of Rome's authority, that it would be a great point gained, if all with one accord would own and acknowledge the succession.

The archbishop's endeavour to save the lives of More and Fisher.

Weaver, the author of the Funeral Monuments, transcribed this letter out of the Cotton library, and inserted it into his said book[y]: and the thing he takes notice of therein is the *wisdom and policy of the prudent archbishop*[z]. I shall take notice of another thing, and which I suppose was the great cause that employed his pen at this time, namely, his tender heart, and abhorrence from

[y] [See Weaver's Funeral Monuments, pp. 506. 7. ed. Lond. 1631.]

[z] [Here in this letter is to be seen the wisdom and policy of this prudent archbishop, who could make such available use to the state, of the strong opinion which most men conceived, of the profound judgment of these two persons, (i. e. sir Thos. More and bp. Fisher.) Id. p. 507.]

bloodshedding: propounding these politic considerations to the secretary, which were the properest arguments to be used with a statesman, and for him to use and urge before the king; that so he might be an instrument of saving the lives of these men, however they differed from him, and it may be were none of his very good friends. This letter of the archbishop's, as I myself took it from the original, I thought worthy depositing among Cranmer's monuments in the Appendix[a]. But this offer of theirs, notwithstanding the archbishop's arguments and endeavours, would not be accepted. The king would not be satisfied with this swearing by halves.

No. XI.

[a] [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 181. British Museum. Original and holograph. See also abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter cv. pp. 285, 6.]

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARCHBISHOP VISITS THE DIOCESE OF NORWICH.

A *præmunire* brought against bishop Nix.

The popish bishops were now at a low ebb; and being under the frowns of their prince, other men took the opportunities, upon their slips, to get them punished. A storm now fell upon Richard Nix bishop of Norwich, a vicious and dissolute man, as Godwin writes[b]. Against him was a *præmunire* this year (25 of Henry VIII.) brought. That, *de tout temps,* there had been a custom in the town of Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that no inhabitant of the same town should be drawn
29 in plea in any court Christian for any spiritual causes, but before the dean in the said town. And there was a presentment in the king's court, before the mayor of the town, by twelve jurors, that there was such a custom. And beside, that whosoever should draw any man out of the said town, in any spiritual court, should forfeit six shillings and eight pence. The bishop nevertheless cited the mayor to appear before him, *pro salute animæ;* and upon his appearance libelled for that cause, and enjoined him, upon pain of excommunication, not to admit the said presentment. And whenas the bishop could not deny his fact, judgment was given, that he should be out of the king's protection, his goods and chattels forfeited, and his body imprisoned during the king's pleasure. For which he had the king's pardon. Which was afterwards confirmed in parliament.

[b] ["After the decease of Jan, Richard Nyx succeeded, of whom I find little worth the rehearsing: He hath the report of a vicious and dissolute liver, was blind long before his death, sate 36 years, and died an. 1536." Godwin's Cat. of the Bishops of England, p. 354. ed. Lond. 1600.]

This bishop's diocese was now in such disorder, that the archbishop instituted a visitation of that see; wherein William May, LL.D., was the archbishop's commissary. The 28th of July, the bishop was called and summoned to appear, but appeared not; and so was pronounced *contumax*. But at another meeting he sent Dr. Cap, his proctor, by whom he made a protestation against their doings and jurisdiction; and that it was not decent for that reverend father to appear before him, the archbishop's official. However, at another meeting, the bishop not appearing at the time and place appointed, Dr. May declared him obstinate, and to incur the penalty of obstinacy. After this the bishop, by his proctor, was willing to submit to obey law, and to stand to the command of the church, and to do penance for his said contumacy, to be enjoined by the archbishop or his commissary. At another court the bishop appeared in person, and then shewed himself willing to take the said commissary for visitor, or any other in the name of the archbishop of Canterbury. This bishop was now fourscore years old, and blind, as appears by a writing of his sent by his proctor, dated September 1534. He died two years after, and came in to be bishop in the year 1500[d].

The archbishop visits this bishop's see.

Cranmer's Reg.

This bishop seems to have made himself very odious in his diocese by his fierceness and rigours against such as were willing to be better informed in religion; whom he would style men *savouring of the frying-pan*. He seized such books as were brought from beyond sea, of which sort there were now many, which tended to lay open the corruptions of the church; and especially the New Testament, which he could not endure should be read. And when some of these commonly gave out that it was the king's pleasure that such books should be read, he sent

The bishop of Norwich a persecutor.

[d] [See Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. pp. 159, 187, 190, 213. ed. Lond. 1845.]

up studiously, by the abbot of Hyde, to have this shewed to the king; and begged his letters under his seal, to be directed to him, or any body else whom the king pleased in his diocese, to declare it was not his pleasure such books should be among his subjects, and to punish such as reported it was. He sent also a letter to Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, making his complaint and information to him, desiring him to send for the said abbot, who should tell him what his thoughts were for the suppression of these men; and entreating the archbishop to inform the king against these erroneous men, as he called them. Some part of his diocese was bounded with the sea, and Ipswich and Yarmouth, and other places of considerable traffic, were under his jurisdiction. And so there happened many merchants and mariners, who, by converse from abroad, had received knowledge of the truth, and brought in divers good books. This mightily angered the zealous bishop, and he used all the severity he could to stop the progress of evangelical truth, and wished for more authority from the king to punish it; for his opinion was, that if they continued any time, he thought they would undo them all, as he wrote to the archbishop. This letter is in the Appendix.

No. XII.

Bishops consecrated.

Goodrich, Lee, and Salcot consecrated bishops.

April the 19th, the archbishop of Canterbury, invested in his pontificals, consecrated Thomas Goodrich, doctor of decrees, bishop of Ely, in his chapel at Croydon; together with Rowland Lee, doctor of law, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; and John Salcot, alias Capon, doctor of law, bishop of Bangor: being assisted by John bishop of Lincoln, and Christopher bishop of Sidon[e].

[e] [See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 26. 76. 125. ed. Lond. 1614. and Godwin's Cat. of the Bishops of England, pp. 224. 265.]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP PREACHETH AT CANTERBURY.

The archbishop preaches up the king's supremacy at Canterbury.

In order to the bettering the state of religion in the nation, the archbishop's endeavours, both with the king and the clergy, were not wanting from time to time. And something soon after fell out, which afforded him a fair opportunity: which was this. The king, resolving to vindicate his own right of supremacy against the encroachments of popes in his dominions, especially now the parliament had restored it to him, being at Winchester, sent for his bishops thither about Michaelmas, ordering them to go down to their respective dioceses, and there in their own persons to preach up the regal authority, and to explain to the people the reason of excluding the pope from all jurisdiction in these realms. Our archbishop, according to this command, speeds down into his diocese to promote this service for the king and the church too. He went not into the nearer parts of Kent about Otford and Knol, where his most frequent residence used to be; because his influence had a good effect for the instruction of the people thereabouts in this, as well as in other points of sound religion: but he repaired into the east parts of his diocese, where he preached up and down upon the two articles of the pope's usurpations and the king's supremacy. But the people of Canterbury being less persuaded of these points than all his diocese besides, there, in his cathedral church, he preached two sermons; wherein he insisted upon three things:

I. That the bishop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declared by what crafts the bishop of Rome had obtained his usurped authority.

31 II. That the holiness that see so much boasted of, and by which name popes affected to be styled, was but a holiness in name, and that there was no such holiness at Rome. And here he launched out into the vices and profligate kind of living there.

III. He inveighed against the bishop of Rome's laws, which were miscalled *divinæ leges* and *sacri canones*. He said, that those of his laws which were good, the king had commanded to be observed, and so they were to be kept, out of obedience to him. And here he descended to speak of the ceremonies of the church: that they ought not to be rejected, nor yet to be observed with an opinion that of themselves they make men holy, or remit their sins; seeing our sins are remitted by the death of our Saviour Christ; but that they were observed for a common commodity, and for good order and quietness, as the common laws of the kingdom were. And for this cause, ceremonies were instituted in the church, and for a remembrance of many good things; as the king's laws dispose men unto justice and unto peace. And therefore he made it a general rule, that ceremonies were to be observed as the laws of the land were.

A prior preaches against him.

These sermons of the archbishop, it seems, as they were new doctrines to them, so they were received by them at first with much gladness. But the friars did not at all like these discourses: they thought such doctrines laid open the truth too much, and might prove prejudicial unto their gains. And therefore, by a combination among themselves, they thought it convenient that the archbishop's sermons should be by some of their party confuted, and in the same place where he preached them. So soon after came up the prior of the black friars in Canterbury, levelling his discourse against the three things that the archbishop had preached. He asserted, the Church of Christ never erred: that he would not slander the

bishops of Rome; and that the laws of the church were equal with the laws of God.

This angry prior also told the archbishop to his face, in a good audience, concerning what he had preached of the bishop of Rome's vices, that he knew no vices by none of the bishops of Rome. And whereas the archbishop had said in his sermon to the people, that he had prayed many years that we might be separated from that see, and that he might see the power of Rome destroyed, because it wrought so many things contrary to the honour of God, and the wealth of the realm: and because he saw no hopes of amendment; and that he thanked God he had now seen it in this realm; for this the prior cried out against him, that he preached uncharitably.

Whom he convents before him.

The archbishop, not suffering his authority to be thus affronted, nor the king's service to be thus hindered, convented the prior before him before Christmas. At his first examination, he denied that he preached against the archbishop, and confessed that his grace had not preached any thing amiss: but sometime afterward, being got free from the mild archbishop, and being secretly upheld by some persons in the combination, he then said, he had preached amiss in many things, and that he purposely preached against him. This created the archbishop abundance of slander in those parts. The business came to the king's ears, who seemed to require the archbishop to censure him in his own court. 32

Ann. 1535. The archbishop acquaints the king with the matter.

But upon occasion of this, the archbishop wrote his whole cause in a letter to the king, dated from his house at Ford, 1535 [f], declaring what he had preached, and what

[f] [Dr. Jenkyns (Memorials of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 167. n. [k]) fixes the date of this letter A. D. 1536, and establishes his opinion by the following note:—"Some writers have named 1534 as the

the other had preached in contradiction to him. And withal entreated his majesty, that he, the archbishop, might not have the judging of him, lest he might seem partial; but that he would commit the hearing unto the lord privy seal, who was Crumwel: or else to assign unto him other persons, whom his majesty pleased; that the cause might be jointly heard together. He appealed to the king and his council, "If the prior did not defend the bishop of Rome, though he had said nothing else, than that the church never erred. For then they were no errors, as he inferred, that were taught of the pope's power; and that he was Christ's vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, spiritual and temporal; and that all people must believe that *de necessitate salutis;* and that whosoever did any thing against the see of Rome is an heretic. But if these be no errors, then your grace's laws, said he, be erroneous, that pronounce the bishop of

date of this letter. Strype (Mem. of abp. Cranmer, p. 32.) and Mr. Todd (Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 110.) fix 1535. But the Michaelmas mentioned in the first sentence, as might be supposed from the context, and as is proved beyond question by Letter clx. (Id. p. 150.) was the Michaelmas of 1535; and the letter therefore must have been written in 1536. There can also be no doubt respecting the time, when the king sent his order to the bishops to preach against the papal supremacy; for this order is here positively stated to have been dated the third of June, 27 Henry VIII. i. e. 1535. Yet both of the above-named writers, together with Wilkins, have supposed a proclamation of the 9th of June, which refers to it, to have been issued in 1534. Strype's Mem. Eccl. vol. i. p. 168. (vol. i. p. 259. ed. Oxon. 1822.) Todd's Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 110. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 772. This is the more extraordinary, as a document of the 25th of June, of a similar character, printed by Burnet, contains in itself evidence of its date in an allusion to the deaths of bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, who suffered on the 22d of June, 1535. See Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. p. 188, and Append. book ii. no. 32." (vol. iii. part ii. p. 100.) ed. Oxon. 1829.]

Rome to be of no more power than other bishops, and them to be traitors that defend the contrary." In fine, in the stomach of an archbishop, and finding it necessary to put a stop to the ill designs of these friars, he concluded, "That if that man, who had so highly offended the king, and openly preached against him, being his ordinary, and metropolitan of the province, and that in such matters as concerned the authority, misliving, and laws of the bishop of Rome; and that also within his own church: if he were not looked upon, he left it to the king's prudence to expend, what example it might prove unto others, with like colour to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority; and of what estimation he the archbishop should be reputed hereafter, and what credence would be given unto his preaching for time to come." And he left his majesty to hear the testimony of Dr. Leighton, one of the king's visitors, who was present at the sermon the archbishop then made. This letter, the contents whereof I have now set down, I have placed in the Appendix, as well worthy the preserving among the rest of the monuments of this archbishop, as I transcribed it out of the Cotton library. I do not find what issue this business had: but I suspect the black friars of Canterbury had a black mark set upon them by the king for this opposition of his archbishop in the discharge of his commands. No. XIII.

A provincial visitation.

But to speak a little of a provincial visitation, *jure metropolitico*, which the archbishop had begun the last year, viz. 1534, being his first visitation. It was somewhat extraordinary; for such a visitation had not been in an hundred years before. For this he got the king's license to countenance his doings, knowing what oppositions he should meet with. In the month of May we find him at his house at Otford about this business; the main end

whereof was to promote the king's supremacy, and, as
33 opportunity served, to correct the superstitions of this church, and to inspect even bishops and cathedrals themselves.

Winchester herein opposeth him.

In April 1535, Cranmer had sent his monition to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, that he would visit his diocese. The bishop, who never loved the archbishop, and being a great upholder of the old popish superstitions, was the more jealous of this visitation, opposing himself as much as he could against it; and would have picked an hole in Cranmer's coat for styling himself, in the instrument of the process, *Totius Angliæ Primas;* as though this had been an high reflection upon the king, and detracted much from his supremacy. Of this therefore he went and made a complaint to the king himself: and, taking it in some indignation that the archbishop should visit his diocese, he pretended to the king, that the clergy of his diocese would be driven to great straits, and mightily oppressed, if it should be now visited again, having been visited but five years ago by his predecessor Warham; especially being also to pay a new duty, enjoined by the parliament, namely, their tenths; hoping hereby to evade the archbishop's inspection into the corruptions of the diocese of Winchester.

The archbishop's vindication of his title of Primate.

All this Crumwel, his friend, certified him of, by his chaplain, one Champion. Winchester indeed, whatsoever he pretended, tendered not so much the king's cause, as his own, that he might not be visited. For otherwise he would have complained to the king of this matter before Cranmer's signification to him of a visitation, since he always bare the title of primate of all England, as being the common style of the archbishop. And if this style of primacy was a diminution to the king, it would have been so to the pope, when Winchester held him, as he did once,

for supreme head of the church: but then he never made any complaint against those archbishops that styled themselves primates. The pope's supreme authority was not less thought of because he had such primates under him, but rather more: and the king might therefore have such as were primates under him, without any derogation to his authority. Nor did Cranmer value at all names and titles; and if he thought it any thing interfering with the king's honour, he would himself have been the first to sue for the taking it wholly away. This he signified in a letter to secretary Crumwel; which, because it hath many excellent things declarative of the good temper and spirit of Cranmer, I have presented it to the reader's eye in the Appendix, being an original in the Cotton library. No. XIV.

The bishop of London refuseth his visitation.

And as Winchester had picked a quarrel with him for one part of his archiepiscopal style; so Stokesly bishop of London, a man of the same inveterate temper against Cranmer, refused his visitation, because he styled himself in his monitions, *Apostolicæ sedis legatus*. For under that title he convented that bishop, with the abbots, priors, and archdeacon of London, to appear before him at a visitation, which he intended to hold at the chapter-house in St. Paul's Church, London. But the bishop of London, and the chapter, warned him of assuming that title, as making against the king's prerogative. And at the visitation itself in St. Paul's, they made a protestation, which was openly read: the import whereof was, that they would not accept him as such a legate, and 34 neither admit, nor submit to his visitation under that name; and required the archbishop's register to enter their protestation: and, upon his refusal thereof, delivered a certificate of what they had done. Stokesly also contended with him for suspending all the jurisdiction of the bishop, dean, and archdeacon, during his visitation.

To which the archbishop answered, it was no more than his predecessors had usually done in those cases. In fine, they appealed, in their own justification, unto the king, and desired his license to defend themselves against him by the laws, and as the parliament had provided. Thus they shewed before their secret malice and violent opposition against the good archbishop, and how afraid they were of his visitation; glad to catch any thing to enervate his authority. The sum of which appeal, drawn up by Stokesly, being somewhat too long to be subjoined here, may be read in the Appendix. No. XV.

And protests against him.

Finally, upon the archbishop's visiting of his diocese, he entered three protestations against it, (as may appear in Stokesly's register), for preserving his privileges.

Cranmer sends him a part of the New Testament to translate. And his answer.

This man ever carried himself perversely to the archbishop. It was not long after this time, that the archbishop, whose mind ran very much upon bringing in the free use of the holy Scripture in English among the people, put on vigorously a translation of it. And, that it might not come to be prohibited, as it had been, upon pretence of the ignorance or unfaithfulness of the translators, he proceeded in this method. First, he began with the translation of the New Testament; taking an old English translation thereof, which "he divided into nine or ten parts; causing each part to be written at large in a paper book, and then to be sent to the best learned bishops, and others; to the intent they should make a perfect correction thereof. And when they had done, he required them to send back their parts, so corrected, unto him at Lambeth, by a day limited for that purpose: and the same course, no question, he took with the Old Testament. It chanced that the Acts of the Apostles were sent to bishop Stokesly to oversee and

Foxii. MSS.g

g [Harl. MSS. 422. Plut. lxv.E. fol. 87. British Museum, Original.]

correct, [then bishop of London.] When the day came, every man had sent to Lambeth their parts corrected, only Stokesly's portion was wanting[h]. My lord of Canterbury wrote to the bishop a letter for his part, requiring him to deliver them unto the bringer his secretary. He received the archbishop's letter at Fulham: unto [the] which he made this answer; 'I marvel what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And therefore my lord shall have this book[i] again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people[k] into error.' My lord of Canterbury's servant took the book, and brought the same to Lambeth unto my lord, declaring my lord of London's answer. When the archbishop[l] had perceived that the bishop had done nothing therein, 'I marvel,' said he[m], 'that my lord of London is so froward that he will not do as other men do.' One Mr. Thomas Lawney stood by; and, hearing my lord[n] speak so much of the bishop's untowardness, said, 'I can tell your grace why my lord of London will not bestow any labour or pains this way. Your grace knoweth well, [quoth Lawney,] that his portion is a piece of New Testament. But he, being persuaded[o] that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it mere madness to bestow any labour or pain where no gain was to be gotten. And besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles;

Lawney's jest upon Stokesly.

35

[h] ["Stokesly's portion wanted." MSS.]

[i] ["His book." MSS.]

[k] "[Be guilty to bring the simple people." MSS.]

[l] ["When my lord." MSS.]

[m] ["I marvel, quoth my lord of Canterbury." MSS.]

[n] ["Mr. Lawney stood by, hearing my lord." MSS.]

[o] ["And then he being persuaded." MSS.]

which were simple poor fellows, and therefore my lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them.' Whereat my lord of Canterbury, and others that stood by, could not forbear from laughter."

Who this Lawney was.

This Lawney was a witty man, and chaplain to the old duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the scholars placed by the cardinal in his new college at Oxon, [A. D. 1525.] where he was chaplain of the house, and prisoner there with Frith, another of the scholars [p], [A. D. 1526.] In the time of the Six Articles he was a minister in Kent, placed there, I suppose, by the archbishop. When that severe act was passed, more by the authority of a parliament than by the authority of the word of God, it chanced that my lord of Norfolk meeting with this his chaplain said, 'O, my Lawney,' (knowing him of old much to favour priests' matrimony,) 'whether may priests now have wives or no?' 'If it please your grace,' replied he, 'I cannot well tell whether priests may have wives or no: but well I wot, and am sure of it, for all your act, that wives will have priests.' 'Hearken, masters,' saith the duke, 'how this knave scorneth our act, and maketh it not worth a fly. Well, I see by it that thou wilt never forget thy old tricks.' And so the duke, and such gentlemen as were with him, went away merrily, laughing at Lawney's sudden and apt answer. The reader will excuse this digression.

[p] [See Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. p. 454. ed. Lond. 1845.]

CHAPTER IX.

MONASTERIES VISITED.

This year the monasteries were visited by Crumwel, chief visitor: who appointed Leighton, Legh, Petre, London, his deputies, with Injunctions given them to be observed in their visitation. Indeed the king now had thoughts of dissolving them, as well as visiting them: whose ends herein were, partly because he saw the monks and friars so untoward towards him, and so bent to the pope; and partly to enrich himself with the spoils. Archbishop Cranmer is said also to have counselled and pressed the king to it: but for other ends, viz. That out of the revenues of these monasteries the king might found more bishoprics; and that, dioceses being reduced into less compass, the diocesans might the better discharge their office according to the Scripture and primitive rules: and because the archbishop saw how inconsistent these foundations were with the reformation of religion; purgatory, masses, pilgrimages, worship of saints and images, being effectual to their constitution, as the bishop of Sarum hath observed [q]. And the archbishop hoped that from these ruins there would be new foundations in every cathedral erected, to be nurseries of learning, for the use of the whole diocese. But however short our archbishop fell of his ends, desired and hoped for by these dissolutions, the king obtained his. For the vast riches

Monasteries visited. The archbishop for their dissolution.

Hist. Ref. P. i. p. 189. 190.

36

[q] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 382—384. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

that the religious houses brought in to the king may be guessed by what was found in one, namely, St. Swithin's, Winchester. An account of the treasures whereof, I having once observed from a manuscript in the Benet library, thought not amiss here to lay before the reader; which he may find in the Appendix[r].

No. XIV. Thevisitors' informations.

When these visitors returned home from their visitation, they came well stocked with informations of the loose, wicked, and abominable lives, and irregularities of the chief members of these houses of religion, having by diligent inquisition throughout all England collected them. These enormities were read publicly in the parliament house, being brought in by the visitors. When they were first read, nothing was done with these unclean abbots and priors: "But within a while," saith Latimer in a sermon before king Edward, "how bad soever the reports of them were, some of them were made bishops, and others put into good dignities in the church: that so the king might save their pensions, which were otherwise to be paid them[s]."

Second sermon.

[r] ["Note, that the dissolution of St. Swithin's in Winchester, (though laid here under the year 1535,) happened not that year, but about five years after, viz. 1540. But the occasion of the discourse there, which was of the vast wealth obtained to the king by the fall of religious houses, made the author produce it in this place, as an instance thereof." From the errata and emendations of the first edition. Lond. 1694.]

[s] ["But I fear one thing; and it is, lest for a safety of a little money, you will put in chantry priests to save their pensions*:—I would not that ye should do with chantry priests as ye did with the abbots, when abbeys were put down. For when their enormities were first read in the parliament house, they were so

* [The Act 1 Edw. VI. c. 14. which made over the chantries to the crown, provided that yearly premiums should be paid to the priests, and others connected with those foundations: but it was found more convenient to turn those priests into beneficed clergymen than to pay their pensions.]

Now I will, at the conclusion of my collections for this year, set down the names of the bishops this year consecrated, both diocesan and suffragan: there having been an act of parliament made in the six and twentieth of the king, (that is, the last year), for furnishing the dioceses with six and twenty suffragans, for the better aid and comfort of the diocesans: the sees whereof are all set down in the said act[t]. But I doubt whether there were ever so many made. At least the mention of the acts of the consecration of some of the suffragans in the province of Canterbury are omitted in the register.

Bishops diocesan and suffragan consecrated.

Before this act of parliament enjoining the number of suffragans, suffragans were not unusual in the realm. Whom the bishops diocesan, either for their own ease, or because of their necessary absence from their dioceses in embassies abroad, or attendance upon the court, or civil affairs, procured to be consecrated to reside in their steads. Thus to give some instances of them as I have met with them. About the year 1531, I find one Underwood, suffragan in Norwich, that degraded Bilney[u]

Suffragan bishops usual in the realm.

great and abominable, that there was nothing but 'Down with them.' But within a while after, the same abbots were made bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save and redeem their pensions†." Latimer's Sermons. Park. Soc. ed. p. 123.]

[t] [Viz. Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristowe, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Perth, Berwick, St. Germains' in Cornwall, (interlined in the original act,) and the Isle of Wight. 26. Hen. VIII. cap. 14. See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 509.]

[u] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1012. edit. Lond. 1583.]

† [e. g. Chambers, bishop of Peterborough, who died 1556; Rugg or Reppes, bishop of Norwich; Salcot bishop of Salisbury; died 1559; Wakeman, first bishop of Gloucester. Godwin de Præsulibus, pp. 353, 440, 551, 558, 612, &c.]

before his martyrdom. Certain, bearing the title of bishops of Sidon, assisted the archbishops of Canterbury. One of these was named Thomas Wellys, prior of St. Gregory's by Canterbury: he, being archbishop Warham's chaplain, was sent by him to cardinal Wolsey, to expostulate with him in his lord's name for encroaching upon his prerogative court. There was afterwards one Christopher, that bore that title, and assisted archbishop Cranmer about these times in ordinations; and another Thomas, entitled also of Sidon, succeeded. Long before these, I find one William Bottlesham, Episcopus Navatensis, anno 1382, at the convocation house in London, summoned against the Wicklivites, who then shewed themselves at Oxford. Robert King, abbot of Oseney, while abbot, was consecrated titular bishop, and called Episcopus Roannensis, a see in the province of the archbishopric of Athens. This is he that resigned Oseney and Tame, under the name of bishop of Reonen: of which see the bishop of Sarum was at a stand[v]. He was translated from his imaginary bishopric to be bishop of Oxford in the year 1541. One John Hatton had the title of Episcopus Negropont: he was suffragan under the archbishop of York. John Thornden, who was several times commissary of Oxon, while archbishop Warham was chancellor of that university, was styled Episcopus Syrinensis[y]. And hereafter in the progress of this book, we shall meet with a bishop of Hippolitanum, who assisted archbishop Cranmer at his ordinations. These were but titulary bishops; and the use of them was, to supply the

Ex Regist. archbishop Courtney.

37

Hist. Ref. Coll. p. 148. Godwin's Catal.[x]

Ath. Oxonien.

[v] ["What this see was I cannot conjecture." Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. part ii. p. 234. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[x] [Godwin's Cat. of the Bishops of England, p. 404, 5. ed. Lond. 1601.]

[y] [See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. pp. 40. ed. Bliss. 1813—20.]

diocesan's absence, to consecrate churches and churchyards, and to reconcile them, to assist at ordinations, and confer orders, to confirm children, and the like.

Bishops without title.

Sometimes these suffragans had no titles at all to any place, but were bishops at large. Such an one, named Richard Martin, is met with in an old register at Canterbury, who was guardian of the gray friars there. By his last will, made 1498, he gave a library to the church and convent. He was parson of Ickham, and vicar of Lyd in Kent; and writ himself in the said will, bishop of the universal church: by which the antiquarian supposed nothing else was meant, but that he was a bishop in name, endued with orders, but not with jurisdiction episcopal, having no particular charge to intend, but generally officiating as bishop in any part of the Christian church[z]. This I have writ, that the reader may not be put to a stand when he shall in these commentaries meet with some of these titular bishops.

Somner's Antiq. of Cant.

But proceed we now to the bishops that were this year consecrated.

DIOCESAN BISHOPS.

[Among the diocesan bishops consecrated under the year 1535, place Hugh Latymer, consecrated bishop of Worcester, and John Hildesly, or Hilsey, a friar of the order of preachers, first of Bristow, and afterwards of Oxford, consecrated bishop of Rochester next after John Fisher, executed for treason. These two I had omitted in their places, not meeting with them in Cranmer's register. The former I suppose was consecrated with Shaxton in April, as the latter might be with Fox and Barlow in September, his temporalties having been restored to him in the beginning of October. This Hilsey was a great assistant to archbishop Cranmer, and a learned man. He wrote a book of prayers, with epistles and gospels, (in English, I suppose,) which he dedicated to the lord Crumwel; by whose command it was published*.]

[z] [See Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 105. ed. Lond. 1640.]

* From the errata and emendations of the first edition.

Nic. Shaxton.

April the 11th, Nicholas Shaxton was consecrated bishop of Sarum[a], in the king's chapel of St. Stephen, by our archbishop, John, bishop of Lincoln, and Christopher Sidoniensis assisting.

Edward Fox. William Barlow.

September the 15th was the act of confirmation and election of Edward Fox, elect of Hereford[b], and of William Barlow, prior of the priory of canons regular of Bisham, of the order of St. Augustin Sarum, for the bishopric of St. Asaph[c]. The consecration of these two last is not inserted in the register.

George Browne.

March the 18th, the act of confirmation and election of George Browne, D.D. provincial of the order of Friars Augustin in the city of London, for the archbishopric of Dublin. Consecrated March the 19th by the archbishop at Lambeth, Nicholas, bishop of Sarum, and John, bishop of Rochester, assisting.

A memorial of the good services of archbishop Brown in Ireland. Life and death of George Browne, printed in Dublin[d].

Of this last mentioned bishop I shall take some further notice, having been the first protestant bishop in Ireland, as Cranmer was in England; a great furtherer of the reformation in that land, being a stirring man, and of good parts and confidence. He was first taken notice of by Crumwel, lord privy seal, and by his sole means preferred to this dignity in the church of Ireland; upon the observation that was taken of him, when he was pro-
38 vincial of the Augustin order in England, advising all people to make their application only to Christ, and not to saints; whereby he was recommended unto king Henry, who much favoured him. When the king's supremacy was to be brought in and recognised in Ireland, which was the same year wherein he was made archbishop; he

[a] [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 260. ed. Lond. 1716.]

[b] [Id. p. 111.]

[c] [Id. p. 22.]

[d] [Historical Collect. of the Church of Ireland, &c. Life of Dr. G. Browne, p. 2. ed. 1681.]

was appointed one of the king's commissioners for the procuring the nobility, gentry, and clergy to reject the pope, and to own the king for supreme head of the church. In which commission he acted with that diligence, that it was to the hazard of his life; such opposition was made to it in that realm. At which time, in an assembly of the clergy, George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, made a speech to them, and laid a curse upon those, whosoever they were, that should own the king's supremacy. Within five years after this, this archbishop Browne caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the rest of the churches in his diocese; and ordered the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed to be set up in frames above the altar in Christ's church, Dublin. In king Edward VIth's reign, he received the English Common Prayer-Book into that realm, upon the king's proclamation for that purpose, after much opposition by Dowdal: and it was read in Christ's church, Dublin, on Easter-day, 1551. He preached also a sermon in Christ's church for having the Scripture in the mother tongue, and against image-worship: and for this his forwardness and conformity in religion, and the perverseness of the other archbishop of Armagh, who had violently resisted all good proceedings, the title of primacy was taken from him, and conferred upon the archbishop of Dublin: and Dowdal was banished, or, as others say, voluntarily left his bishopric. And then Goodacre, sent from England with Bale for the see of Ossory, succeeded. In queen Mary's days, Dowdal was restored; and, being a great man in this reign, expulsed archbishop Browne from his see for being a married man: who, two or three years after, was succeeded by Hugh Corwin, (a compiler in all reigns), and Browne soon after died.

SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS.

Thomas Manning.

The first of these standing in the register of the archbishop was the suffragan of the see of Ipswich. The bishop of Norwich, according to the direction of the late act, (wherein the bishop was to nominate two for suffragan to the king, and the king was to name one of them to the archbishop, to receive consecration), humbly signified to the king, that he was destitute of the aid of a suffragan; and so prayed him to appoint either George, abbot of the monastery of St. Mary's of Leyston, or Thomas Manning, prior of the monastery of St. Mary's of Butley, to be his suffragan; without mentioning for what place. And on the 7th of March, in the 27th of his reign, he sent to the archbishop to make the latter suffragan of Gipwich[d]: who was accordingly consecrated by the archbishop, and invested *in insigniis episcopalibus*;

Regist. Cran.

39 Nicholas, bishop of Sarum, and John, bishop of Rochester, assisting. The date not specified; but probably on the same day with the consecration following, there being the same assistants.

John Salisbury.

The said bishop of Norwich sent to the king, recommending to him to be suffragan Thomas de Castleacre, of the Cluniac order, and John Salisbury, prior of St. Faith's of Horsham, of the order of St. Benet, both priors of monasteries in Norwich diocese. The king sent to the archbishop to consecrate John, the prior of St. Faith's, for suffragan of Thetford. Accordingly, he consecrated him March the 19th, Nicholas bishop of Sarum[e] and John bishop of Rochester[f] assisting.

[d] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 206. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[e] [Nicholas Shaxton.]

[f] [John Hilsey.]

CHAPTER X.

THE AUDIENCE COURT.

THE good archbishop almost every year met with new opposition from the popish clergy. The late act for abolishing the pope's authority, and some acts before that, for restraining of applications to Rome, served them now as a colour to strike at one of the archbishop's courts, viz. that of the audience, (a court which the archbishops used to hold in their own houses, where they received causes, complaints, and appeals; and had learned civilians living with them, that were auditors of the said causes, before the archbishop gave sentence); pretending that he held it as the pope's legate: urging also the great troubles and inconveniences it caused, both to the clergy and the laity; and that every man must, by virtue of that court, be forced up to London, from the farthest part of the land, for a slanderous word, or a trifle. And that they thought it convenient, if it were the king's pleasure to continue that court, that he would settle it upon some other, and not upon the archbishop, that so it might appear the original of that court was from the king, and not from the pope. And lastly, that it would not be safe to constitute the archbishop the pope's legate, because it would infringe the power of the vicar-general. This was drawn up in way of petition and complaint, either to the king or parliament, by a combination of some of the convocation, as I suspect; the paper being writ by the hand of the register of the lower house of convocation. The great wheel, we may be sure, that set a moving this device, was Winchester[b], his never-failing adversary.

Ann. 1536.

The archbishop's audience court struck at.

[b] [i. e. Stephen Gardiner.]

The archbishop defends it.

The king, notwithstanding, bade the archbishop maintain his court. And he answered all their pleas against it; and by way of protestation affirmed, that he kept not his court by virtue of his bull from Rome for legate, and that none could suspect that he did: and that he saw no cause but that he might keep that court by virtue of the late act of parliament, that gave power to enjoy all things that were before had from the see of Rome. And finally, he answered, that it was the king's will and command that he should continue his court. To which the convocation, or rather some part of it, made a reply, that may be seen in the Appendix. No. XVII.

The archbishop promoting a reformation in the convocation.

40 But notwithstanding these discouragements, (which were thrown in probably to hinder his good designs), the archbishop vigorously prosecuted a reformation at this convocation; where, assisted by Crumwel, the king's vicar-general, he earnestly laboured for the redress of several abuses and errors in the English church. And that not without good success at length: for, after much deliberation among the clergy there assembled, and much opposition too, he got a book of divers good articles to that purpose to be agreed upon and subscribed. An account of which by and bye shall follow.

CHAPTER XI.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

Now though I do not find the king went so far, as that it should be enjoined on all the clergy to own the articles of this book by their own hands subscribed, yet he published and recommended them to all his loving subjects in general, to accept and repute them to be agreeable to God's laws, and proper for the establishment of peace and concord: and further probably in prudence the king thought not fit yet to go, considering the great disputes and arguments that had happened in the convocation hereupon. Now because this was one of the great services our pious prelate contributed to the church, and was one of the first steps made in the reformation of the doctrine and worship, it will not be amiss here, in order to the enlightening this history, to set down the heads of this book, though it be done by others before me. And notwithstanding what the noble author of the history of Henry VIII. saith, he gathered by some records, that this book was devised by the king himself, and recommended afterwards to the convocation by Crumwel, yet we have reason to attribute a great share therein to the archbishop.

Articles published and recommended by the king.

Life of Hen. VIII. p. 466. [Ed. Lond. 1672.]

They that are minded to see a draught of these articles from the original, with the royal assent prefixed to them, may have it in Dr. Fuller's Church History: which, he tells us, he transcribed out of the acts of the convocation[c].

The original thereof.

[c] ["And here we present the reader with the aforesaid medley religion passed in this convocation (A. D. 1536. 28 Hen. VIII.) and confirmed with royal assent;—partly for the authenticalness thereof, being by me transcribed out of the acts of the convocation."—See Fuller's Church History, vol. iii. pp. 140. et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

Book V. p. 213.

The bishop of Sarum also met with an original of them in the Cotton library, wrote out fairly, as it seems, for the king's own use, and subscribed with all the hands of the convocation thereunto[d]. He also hath inserted the transcript of them in the first part of his History of the Reformation.

Addenda to the collection, Num. I.

The original sent into the north to shew to the rebels.

In the rebellion in the north, which happened this year 1536, chiefly raised by priests and friars, many copies of these articles, (for the book was printed by Barthelet), did Crumwel send, by the king's order, to the duke of Norfolk, the king's lieutenant there, to disperse in those parts, together with the original copy itself, as it was signed by the hands of the convocation, amounting to the number of 116 bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons and proctors of the clergy. Which the said duke had order to shew unto the clergy and others, as occasion served; that they might understand it was a proper act of the church, and
41 no innovation of the king and a few of his counsellors, as they gave out. And, after he had made his use of this original, he was required to reserve it safe for the king. This choice treasure, which the king himself required such care to be taken of, sir Robert Cotton afterwards procured, at his no small expense, no doubt. It is very fairly written in vellum; and at the bottom of the first page is written, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*, by sir Robert's own hand, signifying his value of this monument. It is still extant in that incomparable library in the volume Cleopatra E. v.: and there I have seen it, and diligently compared it. Excuse this digression, and I now proceed to the articles themselves.

[d] [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 59. British Museum. Original. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. ii. Addenda to Collection of Records, No. i. pp. 459. et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

These articles were of two sorts: some concerning faith, and some concerning ceremonies. The contents of them.

The former sort were digested under these five titles following:

I. *The principal Articles of Faith.* And they were these. Articles of faith. "That all those things that be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and in the three Creeds, are true, and constantly to be believed. That we take and hold the same for the most holy and infallible words of God. That the articles of the faith, contained in the Creeds, are necessary to be believed for man's salvation. That the same words be kept, in which the articles of faith are conceived. That all opinions contrary to the articles, and which were condemned in the four first councils, are to be utterly refused."

II. *The Sacrament of Baptism.* "That it was instituted and ordained by Jesus Christ as necessary to everlasting life. That by it all, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God offered them. That infants and innocents must be baptized, because the promise of grace and everlasting life pertains as well to them as those who have the use of reason: and that therefore baptized infants shall undoubtedly be saved. That they are to be baptized because of original sin, which is remitted only by baptism. That they that are once baptized must not be baptized again. That the opinions of Anabaptists and Pelagians are to be held for detestable heresies. That those who, having the use of reason, shall come to baptism, shall obtain the remission of all their sins, if they come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant, confessing and believing all the articles of the faith, and having firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament."

III. *The Sacrament of Penance.* "That that sacrament was instituted of Christ in the New Testament, as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man that after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved. That such penitents shall without doubt attain remission of their sins. That this sacrament consists of contrition, confession, and amendment of life. That contrition consists, first, of acknowledgment of our sins: unto which the penitent is brought by hearing and considering the will of God declared in his laws, and feeling in his own conscience that
42 God is angry, and this joined with sorrow and shame, and fear of God's displeasure. That, secondly, it consists of faith, trust and confidence in the mercies and goodness of God: whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and repute himself justified, not for any merit or work done by him, but by the only merits of the blood of Jesus Christ. That this faith is begotten and confirmed by the application of Christ's words and promises. That confession to a priest, the second part of penance, is necessary, where it may be had. That the absolution given by the priest was instituted of Christ, to apply the promises of God's grace to the penitent. And that the words of absolution, pronounced by the priest, are spoken by the authority given him by Christ. That men must give no less faith and credence to the words of absolution, pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself. And that men in no wise contemn this auricular confession. As to the third part of penance, viz. amendment of life, that all are bound to bring forth the fruits of penance, that is to say, prayer, fasting, and almsdeeds, and to make restitution and satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbour, and all other good works, or else they

shall never be saved. That works of charity be necessary to salvation. That by penance and such good works we do not only obtain everlasting life, but deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and affliction in this world." Mark here, by the way, how the doctrine of merits is propounded: our merits do not extend to pardon and everlasting life, but only to the removal or abatement of temporal afflictions.

IV. *The Sacrament of the Altar.* "That under the form and figure of bread and wine is verily and substantially contained that very same body and blood, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross. And that the selfsame body and blood of Christ is distributed unto, and received by, all the communicants. That therefore this sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour. And that before any receive it, he ought religiously to try and search his own conscience."

V. *Justification.* "That the word signifies remission of sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God. That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith joined with charity. That neither our contrition and faith, nor any work proceeding thence, can merit or deserve the said justification. That the mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely for Christ's sake, and the merit of his blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof."

This was the sum of the articles concerning faith. Those concerning ceremonies followed next: which were likewise comprised under five titles.

Articles relating to ceremonies.

I. *Of Images.* "That they be representers of virtue and good example. That they be stirrers of men's minds, and make them often to remember and lament their sins: especially the images of Christ and our lady. That it

was meet they should stand in the churches, but be none
43 otherwise esteemed. That the bishops and preachers diligently teach the people according to this doctrine, lest there might fortune idolatry to ensue. That they be taught also that censing, kneeling, and offering to images, be by no means to be done, (although the same had entered by devotion, and fallen to custom), but only to God and in his honour, though it be done before the images."

II. *Of honouring Saints.* "That they are to be honoured, but not with that confidence and honour that is due only unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God. That most especially Christ is to be lauded and praised in them for their excellent virtues, which he planted in them; and for their good example. And that they are to be taken, wherein they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ."

III. *Of praying to Saints.* "That though grace and remission of sins be to be obtained only of God, by the mediation of Christ; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us unto God, after this manner: *All holy angels and saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of him, and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, (not wanting ghostly strength,) to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end.* That in this manner we may pray to our blessed lady, Saint John Baptist, or any other saint particularly: so that it be done without any vain superstition; as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ; or that any saint does serve for one thing more than another. That

holy-days are to be kept to God, in memory of him and his saints, upon such days as the church hath ordained: but may be mitigated and moderated by the king, being supreme head."

IV. *Of Rites and Ceremonies.* "As vestments in God's service, sprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, bearing candles on Candlemas-day, giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday; creeping to the cross, and kissing it, and offering unto Christ before the same on Good-Friday; setting up the sepulchre of Christ, hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms, and benedictions, and laudable customs: that these are not to be contemned and cast away, but continued, to put us in remembrance of spiritual things. But that none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin."

V. *Of Purgatory.* "That Christians are to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in their prayers to God's mercy, and cause others to pray for them in masses and exequies; and to give alms to others to pray for them, that they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain. But because the place where they be, the name thereof, and kinds of pain there, is to us uncertain by Scripture, therefore we remit this, with all other things, to Almighty God; unto whose mercies it is meet to commend them. That such abuses be put away, which, under the name of purgatory, have been advanced: as to make men believe, that, through the bishop of 44
Rome's pardons, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and the pains of it: or that masses said at *scala cœli*, or otherwise in any place, or before any image, might deliver them from all their pains, and send them straight to heaven."

These are the contents of that memorable book of articles. There are reasons added now and then to con- A conjecture, that the

pen of the archbishop was here.

firm the respective tenets there laid down, and many quotations of holy Scripture, which, for brevity sake, I have omitted; which one may conjecture to have been inserted by the pen of the archbishop; who was the great introducer of this practice, of proving or confuting opinions in religion by the word of God, instead of the ordinary custom then used, of doing it by schoolmen and popish canons. We find indeed many popish errors here mixed with evangelical truths; which must either be attributed to the defectiveness of our prelate's knowledge as yet in true religion, or being the principles and opinions of the king, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice, what a great deal of gospel doctrine here came to light; and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority to be believed and practised. The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, that had so long prevailed in this nation and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness.

CHAPTER XII.

CRANMER'S JUDGMENT ABOUT SOME CASES OF MATRIMONY.

In this year then came forth two remarkable books; whereof both the king, and the archbishop and bishops, might be said to be joint composers: inasmuch as they seemed to be devised by the archbishop, and some of the bishops; and then revised, noted, corrected and enlarged by the king. Two remarkable books published.

The one of these was the book of articles of religion, mentioned before. This book bore this title, *Articles devised by the king's highness to stable Christian quietness, and unity among the people, &c.*, with a preface by the king; where the king saith, he was constrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain articles. Which words I leave to the conjecture of the reader, whether by them he be inclined to think that the king were the first writer of them, or that, being writ and composed by another, they were perused, considered, corrected and augmented by his pen. I. The book of articles.

The other book that came out this year was occasioned by a piece published by Reginald Pole, intituled *De unione ecclesiastica*[e]; which inveighing much against the king for assuming the supremacy, and extolling the pope unmeasurably, he employed the archbishop, and some other bishops, to compile a treatise, shewing the usurpations of popes; and how late it was ere they took this superiority upon them, some hundred years passing before they did it; and that all bishops were limited to their own dioceses by one of the eight councils, to which II. A book against the pope, called the bishops' book.

[e] [See above, p. 12.]

every pope did swear: and how the papal authority was first derived from the emperor, and not from Christ. For this there were good arguments taken from the Scriptures and the Fathers. The book was signed by both the archbishops and nineteen other bishops. It was called the bishops' book, because devised by them.

Herbert's life of king Henry, p. 418. [ed. Lond. 1672.]

The lord Crumwel did use to consult with the archbishop in all his ecclesiastical matters. And there happened now, while the archbishop was at Ford, a great case of marriage: whom it concerned I cannot tell, but the king was desirous to be resolved about it by the archbishop, and commanded Crumwel to send to him for his judgment therein[f]. The case was threefold:

Certain cases of matrimony put to the archbishop.

I. Whether marriage contracted or solemnized in law-

[f] [The case was between the late duke of Richmond, (Henry Fitzroy, who died when about seventeen years of age), and the daughter of the duke of Norfolk, as the following extract from a letter to Crumwel from the archbishop shews. The original letter is preserved in the State Paper office, Miscel. Letters, temp. Henry VIII. and has been printed in the State Papers, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 574, 5.—"And as touching your farther advertisement of the king's most gracious pleasure to be resolved in the case of matrimony between the late duke of Richmond and my lord of Norfolk's daughter, wherein his highness willeth me to call my doctors unto me, and to propone the same case amongst them, whether such marriage be matrimony or no: I assure your lordship, that, without farther convocation of doctors, I am fully persuaded that such marriages as be in lawful age contracted *per verba de præsenti* are matrimony before God. And the same case is, (as I remember), plainly opened and declared in the king's grace's book of his own cause of matrimony. Howbeit, I shall eftsoons consult herein with such learned men as at this time be with me present, and send unto your lordship our resolution in the same. And if his grace will have me further to consult therein, then I must send for other learned men, or else come to London myself. Thus Almighty God have your lordship in his tuition. At Forde, the 14th day of January.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien."

ful age *per verba de præsenti*, and without carnal copulation, be matrimony before God or no?

II. Whether such matrimony be consummate, or no? And,

III. What the woman may thereupon demand by the law civil after the death of her husband? This I suppose was a cause that lay before the king and his ecclesiastical vicegerent, to make some determination of. And I suspect it might relate to Katherine, his late divorced queen.

His solution.

The archbishop, who was a very good civilian as well as a divine, but that loved to be wary and modest in all his decisions, made these answers:

That as to the first, he and his authors were of opinion, that matrimony contracted *per verba de præsenti* was perfect matrimony before God. 2. That such matrimony is not utterly consummated, as that term is commonly used among the school-divines and lawyers, but by carnal copulation. 3. As to the woman's demands by the law civil, he therein professed his ignorance. And he had no learned men with him there at Ford to consult with for their judgments: only Dr. Barbar, (a civilian that he always retained with him,) who neither could pronounce his mind without his books, and some learned men to confer with upon the case: but he added, that he marvelled that the votes of the civil lawyer should be required herein; seeing that all manner of causes of dower be judged within this realm by the common laws of the same. And that there were plenty of well learned men in the civil law at London, that undoubtedly could certify the king's majesty of the truth herein, as much as appertained unto that law; warily declining to make any positive judgment in a matter so ticklish. This happened in the month of January[g].

[g] ["And as for the case of marriage wherein your lordship first required to know, whether marriage contracted and solemni-

Refuseth to grant a dispensation for the marriage of a relation.

And indeed in these times there were great irregularities about marriage in the realm; many being incestuous and unlawful; which caused the parliament, two or three years past, viz. 1533, in one of their acts, to publish a

sated in lawful age, *per verba de præsenti*, and without carnal copulation, be matrimony before God or no: and now you require farther to know, whether such matrimony be consummate or no; and what the woman may thereupon demand by the law civil after the death of her husband: to the first part I answer, that I and my doctors that are now with me are of this opinion, that this matrimony contracted *per verba de præsenti* is perfect matrimony before God, but not utterly consummated, (as this term is commonly used amongst the school-divines and lawyers,) but by carnal copulation. And as for the demand of the woman by the law civil, I will therein profess mine ignorance, and I have no learned men here with me in the said civil law, but only doctor Barbare, who in this matter saith he cannot pronounce his mind, except he had books here, and the company of learned men of the said faculty to consult withal. And I marvel that the votes of the civil lawyers be required herein, seeing that all manner of causes of dower be judged within this realm by the common laws of the same; and there be plenty of well learned men in the civil law at London, which undoubtedly can certify the king's majesty of the truth herein, as much as appertaineth unto that law. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the xxvth day of January. [1538.]

Your lordship's own assured,

T. CANTUARIEN."

The original letter from which this passage is taken, is preserved in the Cotton MSS. E. v. fol. 101. British Museum. The date is fixed by Strype A. D. 1536, but Dr. Jenkyns (Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 227) fixes it, together with the letter from which the extract is made, above, p. 92. n. f. (A. D. 1538,) "because Cranmer, with other bishops and learned men, had almost completed their determinations 'upon the preparation of the Institution of a Christian Man,' which is pronounced in this letter as 'the book lately devised,' which could scarcely place the letter earlier than A. D. 1538. The allusion to the duke of Richmond's marriage in the former letter, leads to the inference that it was written soon after his death, which took place July 22, 1536, and would scarcely make it later than that year." See abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. pp. 359, 60.]

table of degrees, wherein it was prohibited by God's law to marry. But the act did not cure this evil: many thought to bear out themselves in their illegal contracts by getting dispensations from the archbishop; which created him much trouble by his denying to grant them. There was one Massey, a courtier, who had contracted 46
himself to his deceased wife's niece; which needing a dispensation, the party got the lord Crumwel to write to the archbishop in his behalf; especially because it was thought to be none of the cases of prohibition contained in the act. But such was the integrity of the archbishop, that he refused to do anything he thought not allowable, though it were upon the persuasion of the greatest men or the best friends he had. But he writ this civil letter to the lord Crumwel upon this occasion:

Cleopatra E. 5.[h] His letter thereupon.

"My very singular good lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship[i]. And whereas your lordship writeth to me in the favour of this bearer, Massey, an old servant to the king's highness, that being contracted to his sister's daughter of his late wife deceased, he might enjoy the benefit of a dispensation in that behalf; specially, considering it is none of the cases of prohibition contained in the statute[k]: surely, my lord, I would gladly accomplish your request herein, if the word of God would permit the same. And where you require me, that if I think this license may not be

[h] [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 102. British Museum. Original.]

[i] ["To your lordship." Cott. MSS.]

[k] [Stat. 28. Henry VIII. cap. 7. "'For the establishment of the succession of the imperial crown of this realm.' It was passed a few months before on the king's marriage to Jane Seymour. The prohibited degrees were expressed in it in nearly the same terms as in the former act of succession, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 22, but were extended to cases of carnal knowledge."—Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 173. n. r.]

granted by the law of God, then I should write unto you the reasons and authorities that move me so to think; that upon declaration[l] unto the king's highness, you may confer thereupon with some other learned men, and so advertise me the king's farther resolution[m]. For shortness of time, I shall shew you one reason, which is this. By the law of God many persons be prohibited which be not expressed, but be understood by like prohibition in equal degree. As St. Ambrose saith[n], that the niece is forbid by the law of God, although it be not expressed in Leviticus, that the uncle shall not marry his niece. But where the nephew is forbid there, that he shall not marry his aunt, by the same is understood that the niece shall not be married unto her uncle. Likewise as the daughter is not there plainly expressed, yet, where the son[o] is forbid to marry his mother, it is understood[p] that the daughter may not be married to her father; because they be of like degree. Even so it is in this case and many other. For where it is there expressed, that the nephew shall not marry his uncle's wife, it must needs be understood[p] that the niece shall not be married unto the aunt's husband, because that also is[q] one equality of degree. And although I could allege many reasons and authorities mo[re] for this purpose; yet I trust this one reason shall satisfy all that be learned, and of judgment.

Vid. Foxe, Acts, p. 96

"And as touching the act of parliament concerning

[l] ["Upon the declaration." Cott. MSS.]

[m] ["Advertise me of the king's farther resolution in the same accordingly." Cott. MSS.]

[n] [Ambros. Epist. lib. vi. Epist. xlviii. Paterno. vol. v. pp. 150, 1. ed. Colon. Agrip. 1616.]

[o] ["Where the same is forbid." Cott. MSS.]

[p] ["It is understand." Cott. MSS.]

[q] ["That all is." Cott. MSS.]

[r] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1053, ed. Lond. 1583.]

the degrees prohibited by God's law, they be not so plainly set forth as I would they were. Wherein I somewhat spake my mind at the making of the said laws, but it was not then accepted. I required then, that there must be expressed[t] mother, and mother-in-law; daughter, and daughter-in-law; and so in further degrees directly upward and downward, *in linea recta;* also sister, and sister-in-law; aunt, and aunt-in-law; niece, and niece-in-law. And this limitation, in my judgment, would have contained all degrees prohibited[u] by 47
God's law, expressed and not expressed; and should have satisfied this man, and such other, which would marry their nieces-in-law.

"[My lord,] I have no news to send you from these parts; but I much long to hear such news as be concurrent with you[v]. And, therefore, if you have any good news, I pray you to send me some. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the 7th day of September. [1536.]

"Your lordship's own,

"T. Cantuarien."

He restrains the number of proctors.

About this year, as near as I can guess, the archbishop made an order concerning the proctors of his court of arches. The numerousness and irregularities of proctors made these civil courts uneasy to the people. Complaints were made of their clamourousness, by reason of the plenty of them, that neither advocates nor judges could be heard; of the injuries they did to advocates, in re-

[s] ["At the making of the said." Cott. MSS.]

[t] ["That there might be expressed." Cott. MSS.]

[u] ["Should have contained all the degrees prohibited." Cott. MSS.]

[v] ["Occurrent with you." Cott. MSS.]

taining and concluding causes oftentimes without them: and of thrusting themselves into causes without the knowledge or will of the parties, and such like. The evils of which, long after endured, were endeavoured to be redressed by the canons and constitutions, made in the beginning of the reign of king James I[w]. Our archbishop conceived, that in order to the reformation of the proctors, it were good to begin at first with a restraint of the numbers of them. Wherefore he decreed, that whereas the number of the proctors in the court of arches was heretofore about twenty, or four and twenty, and my lord's grace at liberty to add more; thenceforth no more should be admitted till the number were reduced to ten; and then that number never to be increased. This liberty, which his predecessors always had, he willingly infringed himself of, out of no other intent, but for the benefit and ease of the people, whom he saw were enticed to contention by the crafty insinuations of this kind of men, setting neighbours together by the ears for their own lucre. And therefore the fewer of them, the better. And this number he thought sufficient for the necessary business of the court.

Which some complain of to the parliament.

But some looked upon this as a crafty fetch and plot of the proctors of that time, upon the good nature and pious disposition of the archbishop. That so all others being excluded from officiating as proctors, they might have all the business of the arches in their own hands; and hence might divers abuses come into that court. And for the confirmation of this order of the archbishop for the tying of his hands, they, who were counsellors to the archbishop in this matter, got it confirmed by the chapter and convent of Christ's-Church, Canterbury. This giving offence to many, there were some who drew up

[w] [See Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, cxxix–cxxxiii. pp. 589–591. ed. Oxon. 1840.]

a long paper against this order, and presented it to the consideration of the parliament; because it could be redressed no other way, the archbishop having put it out of his own power to do it. In this paper they set forth, that the said statute was prejudicial unto the commonwealth, because the number of ten proctors was not 48
sufficient to dispatch the causes that came into that court: and so there must be delays and prolix suits, while these proctors were attending other causes in the archbishop's court of audience, and the bishop of London's court of consistory. Whereas before it had been seen by experience, that twenty proctors could not suffice for the managery of the causes in these courts, without delays and prorogations from day to day. That causes by this means could not be diligently attended, when there were many causes, and few proctors to look after them. And hereby many good causes were like to perish for lack of good looking after. That this had occasioned the proctors to neglect a very good oath, called *Juramentum calumpniæ;* which was the best provision that could be against unlawful suits, and lengthening them out further than was necessary. This oath was, that the parties or the proctors should swear, that they believed their cause was just, and that they should not use unlawful delays, whereby justice might be deferred; that they should answer the judge truly to what he should demand of them; that nothing should be given or promised to the judges or any other officer, besides the fees allowed by law; and that they should not procure any false witness. Again, this paper urged for a good number of proctors, that this would be a means that the judges could not so easily keep them in subjection and fear of them: whereby they had been hindered sometimes in speaking freely before them in their clients' causes.

It was urged also, that it was a great discouragement to young men in studying the law, when there is so little prospect of benefit thereby. Lastly, that it was contrary to the civil and canon law, that permits any man to be proctor for another, a few excepted. But this paper, notably enough written, may be read at large in the No. XVIII. Appendix. And so I leave the reader to judge of the expediency of this order of the archbishop, by weighing the archbishop's reasons with these last mentioned. Surely this his act deserved commendation for his good intentions thereby, though some lesser inconveniences attended, which no doubt he had also well considered before he proceeded to do what he did.

The archbishop divorceth queen Ann. Life of king Henry, p. 446. [ed. Lond. 1672.]

When queen Ann, on May the 2d, was sent to the Tower, by a sudden jealousy of the king her husband; the next day, the archbishop, extremely troubled at it, struck in with many good words with the king on her behalf, in form of a letter of consolation to him[x]; yet wisely making no apology for her, but acknowledging how divers of the lords had told him of certain of her faults, which, he said, he was sorry to hear: and concluded, desiring that the king would however continue his love to the gospel, lest it should be thought that it was for her sake only that he had favoured it. Being in the Tower, there arose up new matter against queen Ann, namely, concerning some lawful impediment of her marriage with the king: and that was thought to be a precontract between her and the earl of Northumberland. Whereupon the archbishops of Canterbury and York were made commissioners to examine this matter. And she, being before the archbishop of Canterbury, confessed certain *just, true, and lawful impediments*, as the act in 49 the 26 of Henry VIII. expresseth it; but not mentioning

[x] [This letter will be found in the Appendix.]

what they were[y]. So that by that act the said marriage is declared never to have been good nor consonant to the laws. Yet the earl of Northumberland, being examined upon oath before both the archbishops, denied it; upon the truth of which he received also the blessed sacrament. And the lord Herbert saw an original letter to secretary Crumwel, to the same import[z]. But her

[y] [The reference should be to 28, not to 26, Henry VIII., in which (cap. 7.) appear the following words to which the author evidently refers: "And albeit most dread sovereign lord, that the said acts were then made as it was then thought by your majesty's nobles and commons upon a pure, perfect, and clear foundation, thinking the said marriage then had between your highness and the said lady Anne in their consciences to have been pure, sincere, perfect, and good, and so was reputed, accepted, and taken in the realm till now of late that God of his infinite goodness, from whom no secret things can be hid, hath caused to be brought to light evident and open knowledge, as well as of *certain just, true, and lawful impediments* unknown at the making of the said acts, and sithen that time confessed by the said lady Anne before the most reverend father in God, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan, and primate of all England, sitting judicially for the same, by the which plainly appeareth that the said marriage between your grace and the said lady Anne *was never good nor consonant to the laws*, but utterly void, and of none effect." Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. pp. 655, 6.]

[z] ["Only I cannot omit to tell, that the king was so little satisfied with her (Anne Boleyn's) actions or letters, that not content to have gotten proof enough to put her to death, he would further be divorced from her; which also by due order and process of law, (as an act of parliament hath it, 28 Hen. VIII. 7.) was performed by Cranmer. The causes being not yet set down otherwise than that they were declared *just, true, and lawful impediments* of marriage: I know not how to satisfy the reader therein, especially since the lady Elizabeth their daughter is thereby pronounced illegitimate. For as concerning precontracts, I find by an original letter of the earl of Northumberland, (who, it seems, might most be suspected), that he disavows it on his part. So that unless he retracted this protestation, or that the contrary were proved, I cannot so much as imagine a reason. The letter is thus to Crumwel, (May 13 Records): 'I perceive that there is supposed a precontract between

confession of it so far prevailed with the king, that he would be divorced from her; and with our archbishop, that he performed it by due order and process of law. And an act passed, that the marriage between the king and queen Ann was null and void, and the issue illegitimate[a].

A license for a chapel. Cran. Regist.

The archbishop granted a license, dated July the 24th, with the full consent of Richard Withipol, vicar of Walthamstow in Essex, to George Monoux, alderman of London, and Thomas his son, to have the sacrament administered in his chapel, or oratory, in his house De Moones, now a farm near Higham-hill, in the said parish of Walthamstow: indulging therein to the wife of the said Thomas to be purified, or churched, in the same chapel. I the rather mention this, that it may serve to recall the memory of that pious and charitable citizen and draper, sir George Monoux; who built the fair steeple of that parish-church, and allowed a salary for ever for ringing the great bell at a certain hour in the night and morning the winter half year. He built also the north aisle of the said church; in the glass windows whereof is yet remaining his coat of arms. In the chancel his body was interred, under a fair altar-monument yet standing. In the churchyard he founded an hospital and free-school, and very liberally endowed it; though now

the queen and me. Whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my oath before the archbishops of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed Sacrament upon the same, before the duke of Norfolk and others the king's council learned in the spiritual law: assuring you, (Mr. Secretary), by the said oath and blessed body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promise of marriage between her and me.'" Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p. 448. ed. Lond. 1672.]

[a] [i. e. 28. Henry VIII. c. 7. referred to above n. y.]

the endowments are sadly diminished. He also made a causeway over Walthamstow-marsh to Lockbridge, over the river Lee, for the convenience of travellers from those parts to London, and left wherewith to continue and keep it in repair; but that also is lost, and the ruins now only to be seen. But enough of that.

The Germans conceived great hope of good to befall the church by Cranmer's influence and presidency in England; and took their opportunities of addressing to him. This year Martin Bucer published a large book in folio upon the Epistle to the Romans, intituled *Metaphrasis et enarratio*; and dedicated it in a long epistle to the archbishop. Wherein are sundry expressions, which will shew, how well known abroad the archbishop was already among the protestants, and what an excellent bishop they looked upon him to be, and how fixed their eyes were upon him for doing great things towards the Reformation in England. For thus he writ in this Epistle, *Te omnes prædicant animo præditum archiepiscopo, et tanti, sicque ad gloriam Christi comparati regni, primate digno, &c.* "That all men proclaimed him endowed with a mind worthy of an archbishop and primate of so great a kingdom, and so disposed to the glory of Christ. That he had so attained to this high estate in Christ by his spiritual wisdom, holiness of life, and most ardent zeal to render Christ's glory more illustrious; that, gathering together the humble, and taking pity upon the sheepfold, being indeed dispersed and scattered abroad, he always sought and saved that which was lost, and brought back Christ's poor sheep to his fold, and the pastures of everlasting life, when they had been before most miserably harassed by the servants of superstition, and the emissaries of the Roman tyranny[b]." And after,

Bucer dedicates this year a book to the archbishop.

50

[b] [Sed te omnes prædicant animo præditum archiepiscopo et tanti, sicque ad gloriam Christi comparati regni, primate digno,

speaking of the king's rooting out the usurpation of the pope, and his pretended jurisdiction, by taking to himself the supremacy, the said learned man excited Cranmer to a further reformation, by telling him, "how easy now it would be for him, and the other archbishops and bishops, who were endued with the spirit and zeal of Christ, from the remainders of the ecclesiastical administration, to retain what might contribute to the true edifying of consciences, the saving instruction of youth, and to the just discipline and polity of the whole Christian people. For when the enemies were once removed out of the way, there could not then happen among us any extraordinary great concussion of religion and ecclesiastical discipline, or any dashing one against another, as among them in Germany of necessity came to pass: striving so many years, for the Church of Christ, against such obstinate enemies[c]."

qui nimirum sublimitatem Christi servatoris cum sapientia spirituali, tum vitæ sanctimonia, zeloque gloriam Christi illustrandi flagrantissimo, sic adeptus sis, ut *τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, συναπαγόμενος καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθεις περὶ τοῦ ποιμνίου, ὄντως ἐκλελυμένου καὶ ἐρριμένου*, quæras semper et serves quod periit, dissipatasque tam misere hactenus Christi oviculas per administros superstitionum et emissarios Romanæ tyrannidis, ad ovile Christi, vitæque sempiternæ pascua reducas.—Buceri Metaph. et Enarr. perpet. Epist. D. Pauli apostol. Præfat. p. iii. ed. Argent. 1536.]

[c] [Quam facile etiam fuerit T. R. P. et reliquis archiepiscopis et episcopis, qui spiritu et zelo Christi pollent, ex reliquiis administrationis ecclesiasticæ retinere ea, quæ ad veram conscientiarum instaurationem, ad salutarem juventutis institutionem, ad justam totius Christiani populi disciplinam, et politiam momentum aliquod adferre possunt. Submotis namque semel hostibus, nulla potest apud vos incidere religionis disciplinæque ecclesiasticæ gravior concussio, nulla collisio, uti apud nos fieri necesse fuit, ubi tot jam annis, quasi junctis castris, cum hostibus pertinacissimis, pro ecclesia Christi, veraque ejus administratione dimicamus. Id. col. ii. b.]

The consecrations this year were these. Bishops consecrated

Diocesan bishops.

June the 10th, Richard Sampson, doctor of decrees, and dean of the king's chapel, was elected and confirmed bishop of Chichester, by resignation of Robert Sherburn, who was now very old[d]. No consecration set down in the register. Richard Sampson. Cran. Regist.

June William Rugg, a monk, was consecrated bishop of Norwich[e]. This is omitted also, if I mistake not, in the register. Probably he was consecrated with Sampson. William Rugg. Godwin's Catal.

July the 2d, Robert Warton, abbot of Bermondsey, was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph, at Lambeth, by the archbishop, John bishop of Bangor[f], and William bishop of Norwich assisting[g]. Robert Warton.

Suffragan bishops.

October 20, William More, B. D. consecrated suffragan of Colchester, by John bishop of Rochester[h], by virtue of the archbishop's letters commissional to him, assisted by Robert bishop of St. Asaph[i], and Thomas bishop of Sidon. This More held the monastery of Walden in Essex, an house of Benedictines, *in commendam*, (where Audley-end now stands), and surrendered it to the king 1539. Cran. Regist.

[d] ["Richard Sampson, LL.D. was consecrated June the 9th, 1536, (Godwin,) June 11th, (Wharton.)" Le Neve's Fasti, p. 58. ed. Lond. 1716.]

[e] ["William Rugge, alias Repps, S.T.P., was elected May 31, 1536, confirmed June 28, consecrated July 2. (Wharton.)" Id. p. 211. Godwin's Cat. of the Bishops of England, p. 354. ed. Lond. 1601.]

[f] [John Salcot.]

[g] [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 22.]

[h] [John Hilsey.]

[i] [Robert Warton.]

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BISHOPS' BOOK.

Ann. 1537. The bishops' book by the archbishop's means.

THE pious archbishop thought it highly conducible to the Christian growth of the common people in knowledge and religion, and to disentangle them from gross ignorance and superstition, in which they had been nursled up by their popish guides, that the Ten Commandments, the
51 Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, and the grounds of religion, should be explained soundly and orthodoxly, and recommended unto their reading. Wherefore he consulting with the lord Crumwel, his constant associate and assistant in such matters, and by his and other his friends importuning the king, a commission was issued out from him, in the year 1537, to the archbishop, to Stokesly bishop of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich, Goodrich of Ely, Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and other bishops and learned divines, to meet together, and to devise a wholesome and plain exposition upon those subjects, and to set forth a truth of religion purged of errors and heresies. Accordingly they met at the archbishop's house at Lambeth. Their course was, that after they had drawn up their expositions upon each head, and agreed thereto, they all subscribed their hands, declaring their consent and approbation.

Winchester's opposition.

In the disputations which happened among them in this work, Winchester, the pope's chief champion, with three or four others of the bishops, went about with all subtle sophistry to maintain all idolatry, heresy, and superstition, written in the canon law, or used in the

church under the pope's tyranny. But at the last, whether overpowered with number, or convinced by the word of God, and consent of ancient authors and the primitive church, they all agreed upon, and set their hands to a godly book of religion[k]: which they finished by the end of July, and stayed for nothing but the vicar-general's order, whether to send it immediately to him, or that the bishop of Hereford should bring it with him at his next coming to the court. But the plague now raging in Lambeth, and people dying even at the palace-doors, the archbishop desired Crumwel for the king's license to the bishops to depart for their own safety, their business being now in effect drawn to a conclusion[l]. Foxe. MSS. Life of Cranmer.

[k] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 91. British Museum. Original.]

[l] [The following is the portion of the letter to Crumwel in reference to the subject. "After most hearty commendations unto your lordship: these shall be to signify unto you, that I, with other bishops and learned men here assembled by the king's commandment, have almost made an end of our determinations; for we have already subscribed unto the declarations of the Paternoster and the Ave Maria, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and there remaineth no more but certain notes of the Creed, unto the which we be agreed to subscribe on Monday next; which all, when they shall be subscribed, I pray you that I may know your mind and pleasure, whether I shall send them incontinently unto you, or leave them in my lord of Herteforde's hands, to be delivered by him when he cometh next unto the court: beseeching you, my lord, to be intercessor unto the king's highness for us all, that we may have his grace's license to depart for this time, until his grace's further pleasure be known; for they die almost every where in London, Westminster, and in Lambeth they die at my gate, even at the next house to me. I would fain see the king's highness at my departing, but I fear me that I shall not, by cause that I shall come from this smoky air; yet I would gladly know the king's pleasure herein."

"The determinations," (to which this letter refers), "were published shortly afterwards under the title of "The Godly and Pious Institution of a Chris-

Soon after the bishops and divines parted, and the archbishop hastened to his house at Ford, near Canterbury.

The king makes animadver-

This book was delivered by Crumwel to the king; which he at his leisure diligently perused, corrected, and

tian Man." Printed by Berthelet, 1537, and known by the name of the 'Bishops' Book.' Some interesting letters in the State Papers are preserved in reference to this book 'addressed to Crumwell by bishops Fox and Latimer, two of the commissioners employed in its compilation.' The following extract is from Latimer's letter to Crumwell respecting it, 'This day we had finished, I trow, the rest of our book, if my lord of Hereford had not been diseased; to whom surely we owe great thanks for his great diligence in all our proceedings. Upon Monday I think it will be done altogether, and then my lord of Canterbury will send it unto your lordship with all speed: to whom also, if any thing be praiseworthy, *bona pars laudis optimo jure debetur*. As for myself I can nothing else but pray God, that when it is done, it will be well and sufficiently done, so that we shall not need to have any more such doings; for verily for my part, I had lever be poor parson of poor Kynton again, than to continue thus bishop of Worcester; not for any thing that I have had to do therein, or can do, but yet forsooth it is a troublous thing to agree upon a doctrine, in things of such controversy, with judgments of such diversity, every man, I trust, meaning well, and yet not all meaning one way. But I doubt not but now in the end we shall agree both one with another, and all with the truth, though some will then marvel.' Bp. Fox writes to Crumwell, 'And surely, if it might so have stand with the king's pleasure and yours, I would to God you had been here with us, for we wanted much your presence. Albeit, sir, we have done in your absence the best we could, and have subscribed all our books, and shall send them unto your lordship to-morrow. Now there wanteth nothing, but certain notes concerning the Creed, which may be already made and agreed upon... and now if it shall be the king's pleasure to put the same to printing, I beseech your lordship to know his pleasure for the prefaces which shall be put unto the said book, and whether his highness will that the book shall go forth in his name, according to such device as I once moved unto your lordship, or in the name of the bishops.' State Papers, vol. i. pp. 556, 7, 562, 565. Dr. Jenkyns thinks that

augmented. And then, after five or six months, assigned Crumwel to dispatch it unto the archbishop, that he might give his judgment upon the king's animadversions. A pursuivant brought it to Ford. The archbishop advisedly read and considered what the king had writ; and, disliking some things, made his own annotations upon some of the royal corrections: there especially, we may well imagine, where the king had altered the book in favour of some of the old doctrines and corruptions. And, when he sent it back again with those annotations, he wrote these lines to Crumwel therewith, on the 25th day of January.

sions upon it.

'Fox's device perhaps may have been, that the commissioners should send a letter to the king, reporting their proceedings, and praying for his majesty's sanction; that the king should return a gracious answer, complying with their request; and that both these documents should be printed by way of introduction to the new book. Such a letter from the commissioners was prefixed to The Institution; and a minute of an answer from the king is preserved in the Public Record Office, Tractat. Theol. et Polit. vol. ix. pp. 145—151, A. I. 15; though it does not seem to have been noticed by the historians.' Although this answer was evidently written with great caution, the publication of it, under his immediate authority, was too bold an act for Henry to commit himself to, and the only preface which was after all prefixed to the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' was the letter signed by the bishops, and by several other persons. It was, however, set forth by the king's printer. The Articles of Religion which had been previously published, and the Necessary Doctrine which followed it, 'were first approved in convocation, and were then provided with a preface by the king, and declared in the title-page to be set forth by his authority. Thus it was not a distinction without a difference, that The Institution was called the Bishops', and the Necessary Doctrine, the King's Book.'" See Jenkyns' Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 187—189; also abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. pp. 337, 8.]

Cleopat. E. 5.[m]

"My very singular good lord: after most hearty commendations unto your lordship, these shall be to advertise the same, that as concerning the book lately devised by me, and other bishops of this realm which you sent unto me, corrected by the king's highness; your lordship shall receive the same again by this bearer, the pur-
52 suivant, with certain annotations of mine own concerning the same: wherein I trust the king's highness will pardon my presumption, that I have been so scrupulous, and as it were a picker of quarrels to his grace's book, making a great matter of every little fault[n], or rather where no fault is at all. Which I do only for this intent; that because the book now shall be set forth by his grace's censure and judgment, I would have nothing therein that Momus could reprehend. And [yet] I refer all mine annotations again to his grace's most exact judgment. And I have ordered my annotations so by numbers, that his grace may readily turn to every place. And in the lower margin of this book, next to the binding, he may find the numbers, which shall direct him to the words, whereupon I make the annotations. And all those his grace's castigations, which I have made none annotation upon, I like them very well. And in divers places I have made annotations; which places nevertheless I mislike not, as shall appear by the same annotations[o]."

[m] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. f. 101. British Museum. Original. See also abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. pp. 359, 60, in which this letter (ccxii) is given entire. Dr. Jenkyns (Remains of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 227.) fixes its date, A.D. 1538, because Cranmer with the other bishops had almost completed in July, 1537, their determinations upon the preparation of "The Institution of a Christian Man."]

[n] ["Light fault." Cott. MSS.]

[o] [See corrections of "The Institution of a Christian Man"

At length this book came forth, printed by Barthelet, in the year 1537, and was commonly called "*The Bishops' Book,*" because the bishops were the composers of it. It was intituled, "*The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man;*" and consisted of a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Ave Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the seven Sacraments. It was established by act of parliament, having been signed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and law. Published.

The opinion that the favourers of the gospel had of this book in those times, may appear by what I find in a manuscript of the life of this archbishop, by an unknown author, that wrote it soon after the said archbishop's death: "A godly book of religion, not much unlike the book set forth by king Edward VI., except in two points. The one was the real presence of [our Saviour] Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar: of the which opinion the [said] archbishop was at that time, and the most part of the other bishops and learned men. The other error was of praying, kissing, and kneeling before images: which," saith he, "was added by the king, after the bishops had set their hands to the contrary[p]." How esteemed. Inter Foxii MSS.

But this book came forth again two years after, viz. 1540, (unless my manuscript mistake this year for 1543), very much enlarged, and reduced into another form, and bearing another name, "*A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man.*" And because the king had put it Enlarged and reprinted.

by Henry VIII. and abp. Cranmer's Annotations: abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. pp. 83 et sqq.]

[p] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 91. British Museum. Original. See corrections of "The Institution of a Christian Man," &c.; abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 101.]

forth by his own authority, it was called now "*The King's Book,*" as before it was called "*The Bishops'.*" But that none might be confounded in these books, he may know that there was, in the year 1536, another book also called "*The Bishops' Book,*" upon the same reason that this was so called, because the archbishops and bishops had the making thereof. It was a declaration against the papal supremacy, written upon occasion of Pole's book of Ecclesiastical Union, mentioned before. And in the year 1533, there came forth another book in Latin, called "*The King's Book,*" intituled "*The Difference between the Kingly and Ecclesiastical Power:*" reported to be made, as Bale writes, by Fox, the king's almoner. Which was translated into English, and put forth by Henry, lord Stafford in king Edward's days[q]. The king affecting to be thought learned, affected also to have books called by his name; not that he was always the author of them, but that they came out by his authority, and had undergone his corrections and emendations.

Lord Herbert's Hist. p.418. [ed. Lond. 1672.]

Ibid. p.408.

53

Bale's Cent.

But before we pass away from hence it may be convenient to give the reader a little taste of so famous a treatise as that bishops' book was in those days. And I will do it, not in my own words, but in the words of a very learned and eminent man, the answerer to Dr. Martin's book against priests' marriage, not far from the beginning of queen Mary, supposed to be Ponet

Some account of the foresaid book.

[q] ["Edvardus Foxus, gymnasii Cantabrigiensis alumnus de regis collegio; et episcopus Herefordensis, cujus opera usus est Henricus octavus, illustrissimus Anglorum rex, in multis ac magnis legationibus per Italiam et Germaniam, inter cætera multa scripsit.— Claruit anno Domini 1530. Primum ejus opus, (i. e. utriusque potestatis differentiam, lib. I.) dominus Henricus de Stafford, nobilis heros in Anglicum sermonem transtulit." Bale's Script. Illust. Catal. p. 711. ed. Basil. 1559.]

bishop of Winchester then in exile[r]. Applying himself in his preface unto the queen's prelates, he told them; "That in their book, intituled, '*The Institution of a Christian Man,*' presented by their whole authorities to the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII., in the preface thereof they affirmed to his highness, with one assent, by all their learnings, that the said treatise was in all points concordant and agreeable to holy Scripture: yea, such doctrine, that they would, and desired to have it taught by all the spiritual pastors to all the king's loving subjects, to be doctrine of faith. And there entreating of the sacrament of orders, they desired to have it taught, that we be in no subjection to the bishop of Rome and his statutes, but merely subject to

[r] [Defence of priests' marriage, stablished by the imperial laws of the realm of England, against a civilian, naming himself Thomas Martin, doctor of the civil law, &c. Preface, pp. 4, b. 5. That Poinet was not the author of this book is thus stated by Wood, (Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. col. 202, ed. Bliss. 1813–20.) "About the same time (A. D. 1555–56.) came out another answer entit. "A defence of priests' marriages, established by the imperial laws of the realm of England' &c. printed in qu. To which though no name is set, yet it is said * to be written by Dr. Matthew Parker, who was afterwards archb. of Canterbury." In the copy collated for this edition, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, the following MS. note is found upon the inside of the cover, 'N B. This has the index mentioned by Strype in Parker's Life as wanting in the common copies, also the additions from pag. 228 to 352 to be found in very few copies. † This I compared with two copies in Bodley's Library, where both are defective. R. Crynes. 'Lib. rariss. Mr. Wharton in his notes on Strype's Cranmer subjoined to that book, Appendix, page 262, says that the author was a layman, and that abp. Parker did not adjoin his own additions to all the copies, but only to a few.' The observations of Mr. Wharton will be found in the last vol. of this edition of abp. Cranmer's Memorials.]

* See Dr. John Cosin's book entit. "Apology for sundry proceedings by jurisdiction ecclesiastical &c." printed 1593, in qu. part 2. chap. 12. p. 109.

† [See Strype's Life and Acts of abp. Parker, vol. ii. p. 448. ed. Oxon. 1831.]

the king's laws, under his only territory and jurisdiction. And that the canons and rules of the church were therefore allowable in the realm, because the assent of the king and of the people accepted the same. And that priests and bishops whatsoever never had any authority by the gospel in matters civil and moral, but by the grant and gift of princes; and that it was alway, and ever shall be, lawful unto kings and princes, and to their successors, with the consent of their parliaments, to revoke and call again into their own hands, or otherwise to restrain all their power and jurisdiction given and permitted by their authority, assent or sufferance, &c. Without the which, if the bishop of Rome, or any other bishop whatsoever, should take upon them any authority or jurisdiction in such matters as be civil, no doubt, said they, that bishop is not worthy to be called a bishop, but rather a tyrant, and an usurper of other men's rights, contrary to the laws of God, and is to be reputed a subverter of the kingdom of Christ. Yea, besides these things, and many other, as he added, they put in our creed, or belief, as an article of salvation or damnation, that the church of England is as well to be named a catholic and apostolic church, as Rome church, or any other church where the apostles were resident. And that they willed us to believe in our faith, that there is no difference in superiority, preeminence, or authority, one over the other, but be all of equal power and dignity; and that all churches be free from the subjection and jurisdiction of the church of Rome. And that no church is to be called schismatical, as varying from the unity of the church of Christ, if it persist in the unity of
54 Christ's faith, hope, and charity, and unity of Christ's doctrine and sacraments, agreeable to the same doctrine.

Defence of Priests' Mar. p. 226.

"And that it appertained to Christian kings and princes,

in the discharge of their duty to God, to reform and reduce again the laws to their old limits and pristine state, of their power and jurisdiction, which was given them by Christ, and used in the primitive church. For it is, say they, out of all doubt, that Christ's faith was then most firm and pure, and the scriptures of God were then best understood, and virtue did then most abound and excel. And therefore the customs and ordinances then used and made must needs be more conform and agreeable unto the true doctrine of Christ, and more conducing to the edifying and benefit of the church of Christ, than any custom or laws used or made since that time." This he collected out of their exposition of the sacrament of orders.

The said learned author observed, that this doctrine was set forth by the whole authority of the bishops in those days, presented by the subscription of all their names. And since the time of their presenting thereof, by the space almost of twenty years, (that is, to the middle of queen Mary), never revoked, but continually from time to time taught by this book, and by such other declarations.

Names of the composers.

And that one more particular relating to this book may be known, namely, who the bishops and other divines were that composed it, and that were commissioned so to do, I shall record their names, as they were found writ by the hand of Dr. Sam. Ward, in his own book, now in the possession of N. B.[s] a reverend friend of mine, who hath well deserved of this history.

Thomas Cant. Jo. Lond. Steph. Winton. Jo. Exon. Jo. Lincoln. Jo. Bathon. Roland. Coven. et Lich. Tho. Elien. Nic. Sarum. Jo. Bang. Edward Heref. Hugo. Wigorn. Jo. Roffen. Ric. Cicestr. Guilielm. Norv. Guilielm. Menevens.

[s] [N. B. i. e. Nicholas Batteley of Beakisborne in Kent. See preface.]

Rob. Assav. Rob. Landav. Edoard. Ebor. Cuthb. Dunelm. Rob. Carliolen.

Richard. Wolman, archidiac. Sudbur. Guil. Knight, Archid. Richmon. Jo. Bell, archid. Gloc. Edmund. Boner, Archid. Leicestr. John Skip, archid. Dorset. Nic. Hethe, Archid. Stafford. Cuthb. Marshal, archid. Nottingham. Rich. Curren, archid. Oxon.

Gulielm. Cliff, Galfridus Downes, Robertus Oking, Radul. Bradford, Richardus Smith, Simon Matthew, Joannes Pryn, Guliel. Buckmaster, Guliel. May, Nic. Wotton, Ric. Coxe, Joannes Edmunds, Thomas Robertson, Joannes Baker Thomas Barret, Joannes Hase, Joannes Tyson, sacræ theologiæ, juris ecclesiastici et civilis professores.

In the year 1543, the same book was printed again, amended much both in sense and language: yet not having any step in the progress of the reformation more than the former, each edition express[ing] positively the corporal presence in the sacrament. But in this is much added about free-will, which it asserts, and good works. In 1544, the same was printed again at London in Latin, intituled, *Pia et Catholica Christiani hominis institutio.*

CHAPTER XIV. 55

THE ARCHBISHOP VISITS HIS DIOCESE.

As soon as this business was over with the archbishop and bishops at Lambeth, no parliament sitting this year, and a plague being in London and Westminster, he went down, as was said before, into his diocese[t]. But before he went, he expressed a great desire to wait upon the king, being then, I suppose, at Hampton-Court, or Windsor; but he feared he should not be permitted, coming out of the smoky air, as he wrote to the lord Crumwel, in that time of infection. Yet he desired to know the king's pleasure by him. He had a mind indeed to leave some good impressions upon the king's mind in behalf of the book, that he and the rest had taken such pains about, and but newly made an end of. But whether he saw the king now or no, he had his commission, and took it down with him. Which he advisedly did, the better to warrant and bear him out in what he intended to do in his diocese, which he purposed to visit. Goes down into his diocese.

This was a year of visitation. For there was a new visitation now again appointed throughout all England; to see how the people stood affected to the king, to discover cheats and impostures, either in images, relics, or such like. The archbishop also thinking good now to visit his diocese, procured the license of the vicegerent, lord Crumwel, so to do; because, I suppose, all other visitations were to cease, to give way to the king's visitation. And to render his power of visiting the more unquestionable and void of scruple, he desired the vicegerent, Gets a license to visit.

[t] [See above, p. 108.]

that, in drawing up of his commission, his license to visit might be put into it by Dr. Peter; who was then, if I mistake not, master of the faculties to the said vicegerent, and afterwards secretary of state[u]. And because he would not do any thing without the counsel and allowance of the vicegerent, he asked his advice, how he should order in his visitation such persons as had transgressed the king's Injunctions. Which came out the year before under Crumwel's name: whereof some were for the restraint of the number of holy-days, a great cause of superstition, and of the continuance of it. And afterwards other Injunctions came out: whereof the first was, that

[u] ["Also where you granted unto me licence to visit my diocese this year, I beseech you that I may have your letters to Dr. Peter, to put that in my commission."—Letter to Crumwel (cxc.) —abp. Cranmer's Works. Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. p. 338. "This was sir William Petre, a master of chancery, whom Crumwel appointed to visit the monasteries with Leighton, Legh, and London as his deputies, Oct. 1535, (see above p. 73.) and who with Cranmer and others had been appointed to draw up a bill for the enactment of the Six Articles (A. D. 1539), which was not adopted. He was a great friend of the archbishop, was made secretary of state, and in conjunction with the queen, Cranmer, lord Wriothesley, (the newly appointed lord chancellor), and the earl of Hartford, had the government of the kingdom intrusted to him by the king, when he departed for France, A.D. 1544. In 1545 he was sent as ambassador to Germany. He was also one of the privy council appointed by Henry VIIIth's will to assist his executors, and afterwards became a member of Edward VIth's privy council. He signed Edward VIth's limitation of the crown, as well as the letter to Mary, acquainting her that the lady Jane Grey had been proclaimed 'sovereign according to the ancient laws of the land;' but with the other members of the council afterwards declared for queen Mary, and, A.D. 1556, was appointed one of the select committee for regulating the affairs of the kingdom during the absence of Philip, queen Mary's husband, and became one of queen Elizabeth's first privy councillors. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 517, 663; vol. ii. pp. 7, 36, 471, 478, 9, 752; vol. iii. pp. 317, 490, part ii. pp. 281, 342. ed. Oxon. 1829." Id. p. 315. n. 4.

in all parishes, once every Sunday, for a quarter of a year together, the supremacy should be taught, and the laws to that intent read. These Injunctions were in number eleven, as they are set down in the lord Herbert's history[v]. Pag. 472.

[v] ["In sequence of which, the same year he (i. e. Henry VIII.) commanded (under the name of Crumwell his vicegerent) these Injunctions following to be observed of the deans, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries resident, or having care of souls elsewhere:

"1. And first, that in all parishes and places of preaching, once every Sunday for a quarter of a year together, the doctrine of supremacy should be taught, and the laws to that purpose read, and that the bishop of Rome's authority, having no establishment by the law of God, was justly taken away.

"2. That in the king's Articles, lately set forth, the real doctrine of salvation should be distinguished from the rites and ceremonies of the church, and so taught the people as they might know, what was necessary in religion, and what was instituted for the decent and politic order of the church, according to such a commandment given heretofore in that point.

"3. That the late order concerning abrogating of certain superstitious holy-days should be read to the people, and they persuaded to keep it.

"4. That they should not extol, or set forth images, relics, or miracles, or allure people to pilgrimages otherwise than as permitted in the late Articles, but rather exhort them to keep God's commandments, and provide for their families, and what they can give to bestow it rather on the poor, than upon the said images or relics.

"5. That in their sermons, they admonish fathers to teach their children the Pater Noster, Articles of our faith, and Commandments in their mother tongue; which also should be often repeated by the said youth, and to bring them up in learning, or some honest occupation or trade, whereby to avoid idleness, and get their living.

"6. That sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently administered by the parsons, vicars, and curates; and if any be absent from their benefices by licence, that learned curates be left in their place.

"7. That every parson or proprietary of a church should provide a Bible in Latin and English, and lay the same in the quire for every man to read, exhorting them thereunto, as being the word of God, teaching them withal to

The vicar of Croydon.

The vicar of Croydon, under the archbishop's nose, had been guilty of certain misdemeanours: which, I suppose, were speaking or preaching to the disparagement of the king's supremacy, and in favour of the pope. Now before he went into the country, and having as yet divers bishops and learned men with him at Lambeth, he thought it advisable to call this man before them at this time. But before he would do it, he thought it best to consult with Crumwel, and take his advice, whether he should now do

avoid controversy amongst themselves in the places they understood not, but to refer themselves therein to the better learned.

"8. That the said deans, parsons, vicars and curates should not haunt taverns nor ale-houses, or use tables, cards, or any unlawful games, but rather at their leisure that they should read the holy Scriptures, and be example to others in purity of life.

"9. That because the goods of the church are the goods of the poor, and yet the needy in these days not sustained with the same, therefore all parsons, vicars, and prebendaries, and other beneficed men, which may dispend twenty pounds yearly, or above, should distribute amongst the poor parishioners in the presence of the churchwardens the fortieth part of the revenue of their benefices, lest they should be noted of ingratitude, as receiving thirty-nine parts, and yet not vouchsafing to bestow the fortieth.

"10. That every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man, being able to dispend in benefices or promotions of the church £100 yearly, or more, shall, for one or every of the said £100 yearly, give a competent exhibition to maintain one scholar, or more, either in grammar schools, or the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who, when they have profited in learning, may be partners in their patrons' cure and charge, in preaching and otherwise, or else profit the commonwealth with their counsel and wisdom.

"11. That all parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions, shall bestow yearly upon the said mansions or chancels of their churches, (being in decay,) the fifth part of their benefices, till they had fully repaired the same.

"That all these Injunctions should be observed, under pain of suspension and sequestration of the benefices until they were done."—Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. pp. 472–474. ed. Lond. 1672.]

it, and before these bishops or not[w]: so ticklish a thing 56
then was it for the bishops to do any things of themselves without the privity and order of this great vicegerent. Cranmer was aware of it, and therefore required direction from him in every thing.

The archbishop visits his diocese.

But whatsoever was done with this vicar, the archbishop was soon down in his diocese; and, having taken an account of the people and clergy, what conformity they bare to the king's laws and injunctions; he found them superstitiously set upon the observation of their old holy-days. Some whereof he punished, and others he admonished, according to the degree of their crimes. And he discovered the chief cause to lie in the curates and priests, who did animate the people to what they did: indeed their interest and gain was concerned. The great inconvenience of these holy-days lay partly in the numerousness of them; so that the attendance upon them hindered dispatching and doing justice in Westminster Hall, in the terms, and the gathering in harvest in the country; partly in the superstitions that these holy-days maintained, in the idolatrous worship of supposed saints, and partly in the riot, debauchery, and drunkenness, that these times were celebrated with among the common people; and lastly, the poverty it brought upon the meaner sort, being detained from going about their ordinary labours and callings to provide for themselves and families.

What course he

For the prevention of these superstitions for the future,

[w] ["I beseech your lordship to send me word, whether I shall examine the vicar of Croyden in this presence of the bishops, and other learned men of our assembly, or otherwise how I shall order him."—Letter to Crumwell, (exc.), abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. p. 338,—where will also be found the examination of Roland Philipps, extracted from the State Paper Office, Miscell. Letters, temp. Henry VIII. Third Series, vol. ix.]

took for the preventing of superstition.

and to make the people more obedient to the king's laws, he gave out strict orders to all parsons of parishes, upon pain of deprivation, that they should cause the abrogated holy-days not to be observed for the future; and to present to the archbishop all persons in their respective parishes as should do contrary to any of the king's ordinances already set forth, or that should be hereafter by his authority, relating to the doctrine and ceremonies of the church[x]. And this course he conceived so good an

[x] ["I commend me unto you. And whereas I have received the king's most honourable letters concerning the speedy declaration of his grace's pleasure, for the abolishing of certain holidays named in the late act of convocation, whereof the transumpt I send you herewithal; my mind is therefore, that you cause, with all expedition, the king's pleasure in this behalf to be published unto all the clergy within the deaneries of my peculiars, to the intent that the said act of convocation may from henceforth be put in due exercise according to the purport and effect of the same. Thus fare ye well. At Ford, the 16th day of September. [1537.]"—Letter to Potkyns, (the archbishop's registrar,) abp. Cranmer's Works, (letter cc.) vol. ii. p. 348, 9. The following is the mandate:

Mandatum Archiepiscopi Cantuar' de non celebrandis Festis Diebus Jussu Regio in Synodo Provinciali abrogatis.

"Thomas, miseratione divina Cant' archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, dilecto nobis in Christo decano nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cant' immediatæ de Bocking, ejusve in absentia commissario, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum serenissimus noster princeps Henricus VIII. Dei gratia, &c. in convocatione præsulum et cleri Cant' provinciæ, anno Dom' MDXXXVI. apud ædes D. Pauli London legitime indicta, cum consensu omnium et singulorum interessentium, inter alia pie sanxierat et ordinaverat quasdam ferias, justissimis causis id exigentibus, abrogari ac penitus tolli; cujus quidem statuti seu ordinationis tenorem clero nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis ante hæc tempora, literis in illum usum impressis, promulgari fecimus et curavimus; cumque idem serenissimus noster princeps visitatione sua regia eodem anno habita, injunctiones quasdam, subditorum salutem et gloriam Dei promoventes, per commissarios suos ad hoc deputatos, clero nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis de Bocking prædict' observandas

expedient, that he counselled the lord vicegerent, that all bishops in their several dioceses might be commanded to do the same, for the avoiding of disobedience and contention in the realm. By which means, he said, "the evil-will of the people might be conveyed from the king and his council upon the ordinaries: and so the love and obedience of the people better secured to their sovereign." Such was his care of his prince, to preserve him in the affections of his people, that he was willing to take upon

exhibuerit; quia tamen accepimus et comperimus quosdam, imo quamplurimos, (quod dolemus,) nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis hujusmodi statutis non obtemperare, præmissa observare non curantes; nos, qui potius clementia quam severitate præesse volumus, quique hujusmodi hominum malitiam pietate paterna vincere conamur, ea demum vobis, aut uni vestrum per præsentes mandamus, quatenus clericis nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis prædictæ, ad subsequentia convocatis, in capellis vestris auctoritate nostra (seu potius regia) præcipiatis, quibus et nos sic præcipimus, uti sano consilio obtemperantes, omnia et singula præmissa summo cum studio et maxima cum diligentia, sub pœna privationis beneficiorum, observare curent: intimando iisdem, quod si aliqui in posterum circa præmissa se præstiterint culpabiles, nos, si beneficiati fuerint, sine dubio contra eosdem ad beneficiorum privationem, contra alios legitimis juris censuris processuros. Et quoniam nuper in eruditissimo concilio archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, ac aliorum doctorum virorum hujus regni, de rebus religionis consultantium, multa de religione controversa definita sunt, multaque populo ad vitæ institutionem explicata, quæ propediem uno volumine* congesta regiæ majestatis auctoritate emittentur; vobis mandamus, uti omnes et singulos clericos, quibus cura animarum committitur, moneatis, ut voluminis prædicti partem, sub pœna prædicta, ordine singulis diebus dominicis clara apertaque voce et suggesto populo legant. Et quid in præmissis feceritis, ille vestrum, qui præmissa executus fuerit, cum ad hoc requisitus fuerit, debite certificet. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat' in manerio nostro apud Ford, 10. die mensis Sep' A.D. MDXXXVII. et nostræ consecrat' v." Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 827.]

* [i. e. The Institution of a Christian Man.]

himself their enmity, that it might not light upon the king. But Cranmer had observed these holy-days were kept by many, even in the court under the king's eye; which he well knew was an example and encouragement to the whole nation. And therefore he signified to the lord Crumwel, that they could never persuade the people to cease from keeping them, when the king's own household were an example unto the rest to break his own ordi-

No. XIX. nances. See his letter to Crumwel in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XV. 57

THE BIBLE PRINTED.

His joy at the publishing the English Bible.

He was now at Ford; and it was in the month of August, when something fell out that gave the good archbishop as much joy as ever happened to him in all the time of his prelacy. It was the printing of the Holy Bible in the English tongue in the great volume; which was now finished, by the great pains and charges of Richard Grafton the printer. Osiander, who knew the archbishop well when he was the king's ambassador in Germany, saith of him, that he was *sacrarum literarum studiosissimum.* Indeed he always had a great value for the scriptures, because they were the word of God: and extraordinary desirous he was, from the very first entrance upon his bishopric, that the people might have the liberty of reading it; and, for that purpose, to have it interpreted into the vulgar language. And so, by Crumwel's means, he got leave from the king that it might be translated and printed[y]. The care of the translation

[y] [The following is the letter which the archbp. addressed to Crumwel, requesting him to obtain the king's permission for its sale. It is preserved in the State Paper Office. Miscel. Letters. Temp. Hen. VIII. Third Series. vol. ix. Original, and has been printed in the State Papers, vol. i. pt. ii. No. xciv. pp. 561, 2. and in Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 211. —"My especial good lord, after most hearty commendations unto your lordship; these shall be to signify unto the same, that you shall receive by the bringer thereof a Bible in English, both of a new translation and of a new print, dedicated unto the king's majesty, as farther appeareth by a pistle unto his grace in the beginning of the book, which in mine opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray your lordship to read the same. And as for the translation, so far as I have read thereof, I

lay wholly upon him; assigning little portions of this holy book to divers bishops and learned men to do; and, being dispatched, to be sent back to him. But he could not see his desire effected by these men, till it was happily done by other hands: and, to his inexpressible satisfaction, he saw the work finished in this year, about July or August.

Presents one by Crumwel to the king.

As soon as some of the copies came to his hand, one he sent to Crumwel, intreating him that he would present it from him to the king, (and no question he thought it the noblest present that ever he made him;) and withal to intercede with his majesty, that the said book might by his authority be both bought and used by all indifferently. Both which Crumwel did. For which the

like it better than any other translation heretofore made; yet not doubting but that there may and will be found some fault therein, as you know no man ever did or can do so well, but it may be from time to time amended. And forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the king's grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth of the same; I pray you, my lord, that you will exhibit the book unto the king's highness, and to obtain of his grace, if you can, a licence that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we the bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday. And if you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God's word as you do, although in the mean season you suffer some snubs, and many slanders, lies, and reproaches for the same, yet one day he will requite altogether. And the same word, (as St. John saith), which shall judge every man at the last day, must needs shew favour to them that now do favour it. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well.

At Ford, the ivth day of August. [1537.]

"Your assured ever

"T. CANTUARIEN."

Letter to Crumwell (cxciv.), abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. pp. 344, 5. See also for an account of this translation, Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. pp. 375–387. ed. Lond. 1845.]

archbishop was full of gladness and gratitude; and wrote two letters to him soon after one another, wherein he thanked him most heartily, telling him, "how he had hereby made his memory famous to posterity within the realm, among all such as should hereafter be favourers of God's word: and that he should hear of this good deed of his at the last day. That for his part, it was such a content to his mind, that he could not have done him a greater pleasure, if he had given him a thousand pounds. And that such knowledge would ensue hereupon, that it should appear he had done excellent service both to God and the king." He also particularly spake of the bishop of Worcester[z], how highly obliged he was sure he was to him for this. But I refer the reader to his own letters, which follow.

"My very singular good lord; in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas I understand, that your lordship at my request hath not only exhibited the Bible which I sent unto you to the king's majesty, but also hath obtained of his grace, that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within this realm; my lord, for this your pains[b], taken in this behalf, I give you my most hearty thanks[c]: assuring your lordship, for the contentation of my mind, you have shewed me more pleasure here[d], than if you had given me a thousand pounds; and I doubt not but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear hereafter what high and excellent ser-

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 329.[a] Cranmer's letters to Crumwel

58

[z] [Hugh Latimer.]

[a] [Cotton MSS. E. v. fol. 329. British Museum. Original. See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 345, 6.]

[b] ["This your pain." Cott. MSS.]

[c] ["I give unto you my most hearty thanks." Cott. MSS.]

[d] ["More pleasure herein." Cott. MSS.]

vice[e] you have done unto God and the king; which shall so much redound to your honour, that, besides God's reward, you shall obtain perpetual memory for the same within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me your bondman for the same. And I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my lord of Worcester. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare ye well. At Ford, the xiii day of August. [1537.]

"Your own bondman ever,

"T. CANTUARIEN."

And in another letter, fifteen days after, he again renewed his thanks.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 292.[f]

"My very singular and especial good lord; in my most hearty wise I commend me to your lordship. These shall be to give you most hearty thanks, that any heart can think, and that in the name of them which favour God's word[g], for your diligence at this time in procuring the king's highness to set forth the said God's word and his gospel, by his grace's authority[h]. For the which act, not only the king's majesty, but also you, shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of his word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest. For our Saviour Christ saith in the said gospel, that whosoever shrinketh from him and his word, and is abashed

[e] ["Acceptable service." Cott. MSS.]

[f] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 292. British Museum. Original. See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 346, 7.]

[g] ["In the name of them all, which favoureth God's word," Cott. MSS.]

[h] [For a full account of the bringing over and setting forth this copy of the Bible, see Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. pp. 576. et sqq.]

to profess and set it forth before men in this world, he will refuse him at that day: and contrary, whosoever constantly doth profess him and his word, and studieth to set that forward in this world, Christ will declare the same at the last day before his Father, and all his angels, and take upon him the defence of those men."

Some further particulars concerning this edition of the Bible.

Now because by these letters of the archbishop it appears how instrumental Crumwel was, when the Bible was printed, to procure the setting it forth by the king's authority, I will here relate more at large what countenance and assistance he gave to this pious work all along, and those that were concerned and employed in the doing of it.

The Bible, as Foxe speaks, had been printed in the year 1532, and reprinted again four or five years after. The undertakers and printers were Grafton and Whitchurch, who printed it at Hamburgh. The corrector was John Rogers, a learned divine, afterwards a canon of St. Paul's in king Edward's time, and the first martyr in the next reign. The translator was William Tyndal, another learned martyr, with the help of Miles Coverdale, after 59
bishop of Exeter. But before all this second edition was finished, Tyndal was taken and put to death for his religion, in Flanders, in the year 1536. And his name then growing into ignominy, as one burnt for an heretic, they thought it might prejudice the book, if he should be named for the translator thereof; and so they used a feigned name, calling it Thomas Matthew's Bible; though Tyndal, before his death, had finished all but the Apocrypha, which was translated by Rogers abovesaid, who added also some marginal notes[f]. In this Bible were

[f] ["In those days there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places. The

certain prologues, and a special table collected of the common-places in the Bible, and texts of Scripture for proving the same; and chiefly the common-places of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of priests, and the mass: of which it was there said, that it was not to be found in Scripture. This Bible giving the clergy offence, was gotten to be restrained.

The printer's thanks and requests to Crumwel.

When Grafton had finished this work, and printed off fifteen hundred Bibles at his great charge, amounting to five hundred pounds, (a round sum in those days,) the lord Crumwel desired to have six of his books; which he forthwith sent by his servant, a clear man of all suspicion of any infection, coming that day out of Flanders, Grafton not adventuring to come himself with the books, because of the infection of London, where he was. These books

first was called Thomas Mathew's Bible, printed at Hamborough, about the year of our Lord 1532, the corrector of which print was then John Rogers.—The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tyndal, who with the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margent, which were added after. But because the said William Tyndal in the mean time was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof to change the name of William Tyndal, because that name then was odious, and to farther it by a strange name of Thomas Mathew. John Rogers the same time being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha, and added also certain notes thereto in the margent, and thereof came it to be called Thomas Mathew's Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and presented to the lord Crumwel, and the lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the said Crumwel presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely pass to be read of his subjects with his grace's licence: so that there was printed upon the same book, one line in red letters with these words: 'Set forth with the king's most gracious licence.'" Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1191, ed. Lond. 1583.]

therefore he sent, together with a letter of thanks for being so assistant in the publication, (which, as he writ in his letter, the archbishop said, the tidings of did him more good than the gift of a thousand pounds), and for procuring the king's licence, which was thought fit to be signified in the title-page in red letters, thus, *Set forth by the king's most gracious licence*[c]. But several would not believe the king had licensed it: and therefore he desired further of Crumwel, that he would get it licensed under the privy seal, which would be a defence for the present and for the future. But take the letter as Grafton himself penned it.

Grafton to Crumwel. Cleopatra E. 5.[d]

"Most humbly beseeching your lordship to understand, that, according to your request, I have sent your lordship six Bibles; which gladly I would have brought myself, but because of the sickness which remaineth[e] in the city: and therefore I have sent them by my servant, which this day came out of Flanders. Requiring your lordship, if I may be so bold as to desire you, to accept them as my simple gift, given to you for those most godly pains; for which the heavenly Father is bound, even of his justice, to reward you with the everlasting kingdom of God. For your lordship's moving our most gracious prince to the allowance and licensing of such a work, hath wrought such an act worthy of praise, as never was mentioned in any chronicle in this realm: and, as my lord of Canterbury said, the tidings thereof did him more good than the gift of 1000*l.*, yet certain there are which believe not that it pleased the king's grace to license it to go forth. Wherefore if your lordship's pleasure were such, that we might 60

[c] [See the preceding note.]

[d] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 330. British Museum. Original.]

[e] ["That remaineth." Cott. MSS.]

have it licensed under your privy seal, it would be a defence at this present, and in time to come, for all enemies and adversaries of the same. And forasmuch as this request is for the maintenance of the Lord's word, which is to maintain the Lord himself, I fear not but that your lordship will be earnest therein. And I am assured that my lords of Canterbury, Worcester, and Salisbury[f] will give your lordship such thanks as in them lieth. And sure ye may be, that the heavenly Lord will reward you for the establishment of his glorious truth. And what your lordship's pleasure is in this request, if it may please your lordship to inform my servant, I and all that love God heartily are bound to pray for your preservation all the days of our life. At London the xxviiith day of this present month of August, 1537.

"Your orator while he liveth,

"Richard Grafton, Grocer[g]."

The printer apprehensive of another edition.

And as this printer had addressed to Crumwel for the privy seal, so he apprehended now a further need of the corroboration of authority upon another account. For some, observing how exceeding acceptable the English Bible was to the common people, were designing to print it in a less volume and smaller letters, whereby it would come to pass that Grafton would be undersold; and so he and his creditors would be undone; and besides, it was like to prove a very ill edition, and very erroneous. Insomuch that Grafton affirmed, they would commit as many faults as there were sentences in the Bible. And it must needs be so, because then the printers were gene-

[f] [i. e. Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton.]

[g] ["Grafton was a member of the Grocers' Company, in London."]

rally Dutchmen within the realm, that could neither speak nor write true English: nor for covetousness sake would they allow any learned men at all to oversee and correct what they printed, as formerly it had been printed, but paper, letter, ink, and corrections would be all naught. Therefore he desired one favour more of the lord Crumwel; and that was, to obtain for him of the king, that none should print the Bible for three years but himself. And to move him, he said he was sure the bishop of Canterbury, and other his special friends, would not be unthankful to him. He urged to him, that his whole living lay upon this point. And for the better and quicker sale of his books, he desired also, that, by his commandment in the king's name, every curate might be obliged to have one; that they might learn to know God, and to instruct their parishioners; and that every abbey should have six, to be laid in several places of the convent. He wished some commissions might be issued out to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Sarum and Worcester; and they would readily cause this to be done in their dioceses. To which he earnestly added his own arguments to provoke Crumwel to yield to his request. This letter may be found in the Appendix. No. XX.

Other requests of the printer.

61

CHAPTER XVI.

MANY SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS MADE.

The feast of St. Thomas, &c. forbid.

It was now forbidden by the parliament, and, in pursuance thereof, by the bishops in their several dioceses, that the feast of St. Thomas à Becket, the pretended martyr, should be celebrated any more; nor of St. Laurence, nor of divers others, the feasts of the twelve apostles excepted, and of our lady, St. Michael, and Mary Magdalene. Also the feast of the holy cross was forbid; and commanded, that none should presume to keep those feasts holy; that is, they should ring no bells, nor adorn their churches, nor go in procession, nor do other such like things as belonged to the celebration of festivals[h]. So when St. Thomas' eve came, which had used constantly by the archbishops of Canterbury and their domestics, to be celebrated by fasting, archbishop Cranmer took no notice of that eve, but eat flesh, and supped in his parlour with his family. Which created much observation, it having never been seen before; the archbishop thinking it unworthy that a man of that devotion

August. Monks' Journal.

[h] ["The same year [1537] was it forbidden by the parliament and by the bishops that the feast of S. Thomas the martyr should not be celebrated, nor of S. Lawrence, nor of divers others, the feast of the xii apostles excepted, and of our lady, S. Michael, and Mary Magdalene. Also the feast of the holy cross was forbidden to be celebrated, and that none should presume to keep any of these feasts holy, that is, they should ring no bells, nor adorn their churches*...procession, nor other such things as belong.....*." Harl. MSS. 419. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 113. British Museum. Original.]

* The MS. has been torn, and the words lost in these places.

to the see of Rome, and disloyalty to his natural prince, should be so religiously commemorated.

BISHOPS DIOCESAN CONSECRATED.

March the 25th, Robert Holgate, master of the order of Sempringham, was consecrated bishop of Landaff[i], in the chapel of St. Mary in the conventual church of Friars Preachers of the city of London, by John bishop of Rochester[k], by virtue of letters commissional from the archbishop to him; John bishop of Bangor[l], and Nicholas bishop of Sarum[m], assisting. This Holgate was either abbot or prior of St. Mary Watte, an house of Gilbertines, which he held *in commendam*, and surrendered in the year 1539. Robert Holgate consecrated bishop.

SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS.

June the 24th, John Bird, S. Th. P. provincial of the order of Friars Carmelites of the city of London, was consecrated suffragan of the see of Penrith, in Landaff diocese; and John Bird.

Lewis Thomas, formerly Abbot of the monastery of Kymmer, suffragan bishop of the see of Salop; both consecrated at Lambeth by the archbishop. The assistant bishops at this consecration [are] not mentioned in the register. Lewis Thomas

Of Bird, a word or two; I find him in Norwich about the year 1531, busy with Bilney before his death[n]. He was a person king Henry made use of; for in the year Some account of Bird.

[i] [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 522. ed. Lond. 1716.]

[k] [John Hilsey.]

[l] [John Salcot, alias Capon.]

[m] [Nicholas Shaxton.]

[n] ["Another great doer against him (Bilney) was one friar Bird with one eye, provincial of the white friars. This Bird was a suffragan in Coventry, and after bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Boner, mentioned in the story of Hawkes." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1008. ed. Lond. 1583.]

1535, he with Fox the almoner, and Bedel, a clerk of the council, were sent to queen Katherine, divorced from the king, to forbear the name of queen: which nevertheless she would not do. He preached certain sermons before the king against the pope's supremacy. Bale, in his exposition upon the Revelations, makes him to be one of the ten horns that shall hate the whore[o]. Godwin asserts of him, that he was once bishop of Ossory[p].
62 Bale, in his Centuries, mentions not at all his being an

[o] ["They that afore were her friends shall then be her mortal enemies, denying her both tribute, obedience, and service, so leaving her without all comfort.——As are already Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, Hermanus de Weda, the archbishop of Coleyne, Godrick, the bishop of Ely, Barlow the bishop of St. David's, Bird, the bishop of Chester, Thirlby, bishop of Westminster. Hugh Latimer, late bishop of Worcester, a man that is vehement in God's truth, &c." Bale's Image of both Churches, Annot. 5. upon Rev. xvii. 16.]

[p] [1534.] Joannes Bird, doctor theologus Cantabrigiensis, et Carmelitarum provincialis, Osseriensis in Hibernia episcopus (episcopus potius suffrag. sedis Penreth, consecr. 24. Jun. 1537.) huc primum translatus est tertio Septembris 1539, et Cestriam deinde post biennium. [1541.] Novæ hujus fundationis (Cestrensis) episcopus primus fuit Joannes Bird, sacræ theologiæ doctor, in Coventrensi civitate natus, et in academia Oxoniensi educatus Carmelitarum tricesimus secundus et postremus Provincialis; qui Osseriensis in Hibernia constitutus episcopus, unde ad sedem Bangorensem primum, et mox dein huc translatus est. Conciones quædam coram rege habitæ, in quibus primatum pontificium nervose impugnavit, aditum illi ad has dignitates patefecere. Sub Maria regina exauthoratus est, propterea quod uxorem duxisset, et Cestriæ decessit, anno Domini 1556. Postea vero palinodiam cecinit, et fit episcopus suffraganius Edmundo Bonner, et rector de Dunmow in agro Essexiensi, ubi octogenarius ferme diem clausit extremum anno 1556.–Godwin de præsul. pp. 626. 776. ed. Cantab. 1743." John Bird was elected (bishop of Bangor) July 24th 1539. had the royal assent Sep. 1.—— and in 1541 was translated to Chester;" and became first bishop of that see, "and made profession of his obedience to the archbishop of York, the 13th of April, 1542. He was deprived 1° Mariæ 1553, and died (I believe at Dunmowe in Essex, for there he is buried), in the year 1556." Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 26, and 341.]

Irish bishop; but naming his preferments, first calls him *Episcopus Penricensis*[q]: in 1539, made bishop of Bangor; and removed to Chester 1541. He was married, and therefore, upon queen Mary's access to the crown, was deprived of his bishopric, but complied with the old religion. I find him alive in the year 1555, being then at Fulham at bishop Boner's, and there he lodged. Upon his coming, he brought his present with him, a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. While he was here, he exhorted Mr. Hawkes, convented for pretended heresy before Boner, to "*learn of his elders, and to bear with some things, and be taught by the church, and not to go too far.*" In that queen's reign he became Boner's suffragan, and vicar of Dunmow in Essex[r]. Foxe's Acts.

November the 4th, Thomas Morley, formerly abbot of Stanley in Sarum diocese, of the Cistertian order, was consecrated, in the chapel of Lambeth, suffragan of the see of Marlborough, by the archbishop, assisted by John bishop of Lincoln[s], and John bishop of Rochester[t]. Thomas Morley.

[q] ["Joannes Byrdus, patria Coventriensis, theologus Oxoniensis, et ultimus ac 32 sectæ suæ Carmeliticæ provincialis præses fuit. Ob conciones quasdam, quas anno Domini 1537, contra primatum Rom. pontificis, coram illustrissimo rege Henrico octavo ac regni primoribus fecit, illum idem rex Penricensem, Bangorensem, ac tum demum Cestriensem episcopum regia authoritate constituit.—Claruit anno Domini 1554, omni dignitate ob initum matrimonium dejectus." Bale, Script. illust. catal. p. 724. ed. Basil. 1559.]

[r] ["The next day came thither an old bishop, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him to my lord (i. e. Boner) a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living, because he had a wife. (This bishop's name was Bird, bishop some time of Chester, and suffragan before of Coventry.)—Then said the old bishop, (i. e. to Thomas Hawkes, afterwards a martyr), 'Alas! good young man, you must be taught by the church, and by your ancients, and do as your forefathers have done before you.'" Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1588. ed. Lond. 1593.]

[s] [John Longland.]

[t] [John Hilsey.]

Richard Ungworth.

December the first, the archbishop, according to the direction of the act for suffragan bishops, nominated to the king two persons, out of which he might elect a suffragan for Dover, viz. Richard Ungworth, prior of the priory of Langley Regis, and John Codenham, both doctors in divinity. December the 8th, the king answered Cranmer's letter by his privy seal: wherein he appointed Ungworth to be consecrated for his said suffragan. And accordingly December the 9th, John bishop of London, by virtue of commissional letters from the archbishop, assisted by John bishop of Rochester, and Robert bishop of St. Asaph[u], consecrated the said Ungworth. On the 10th, the archbishop issued out his commission to the said suffragan, ordaining him his suffragan by those presents, until he should think fit to withdraw his said commission again: signifying, that what he was to do was within his diocese and city of Canterbury, and jurisdiction of Calais, and the marches thereof; to confirm children, to bless altars, chalices, vestments, and other ornaments of the church; to suspend places and churches, and to reconcile them; to consecrate churches and altars new set up; to confer all the lesser orders; to consecrate holy oil of chrism and holy unction; and to perform all other things belonging to the office of a bishop. The bishop's letter to the king, desiring him to appoint him a suffragan out of those two above named, and the archbishop's commissional letters to suffragan Ungworth, may be seen in the Appendix. And he that is minded to read the form of the king's mandate to the archbishop for making a suffragan, may find it in the History of the Reformation[v].

No. XXI.
No. XXII.
Vol. i. Collect. 51. book 2.

The reason why the archbishop all this while, that is,

[u John Stokesley, John Hilsey, and Robert Warton.]

[v [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. B. 2. No. 51. p. 206. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

from the first making the act in the year 1534, to this time, had nominated none for suffragan to this see till now, might be, because there seemed to be a suffragan already, even the same that had been in the time of archbishop Warham, namely, John Thornton, prior of Dover; who was one of the witnesses appointed by that archbishop to certify what was found and seen at the opening of St. Dunstan's tomb. Richard Thornden seems to have succeeded Ungworth in this office some years after, and was very dear to the archbishop, having been by him preferred to be prebend of Canterbury; though he proved very false to him, and was among those that made a treacherous combination against him in the year 1543; and in queen Mary's time became a great persecutor[w].

John Thornton, suffragan. See Somner's Hist. Cant. Append. p. 63 423. [ed. Lond. 1640.]

Richard Thornden.

December the 9th, John Hodgkin, professor of divinity, was consecrated at the same time, and by the same bishops as above; but to what see is not mentioned. The bishop of London, together with this Hodgkin, had nominated to the king Robert Struddel, professor of divinity. Both he recommended to the king, by letters, to be made suffragans at large, without mention of any see in his diocese; but only expressing that his diocese wanted the comfort of suffragans, that might bear a part in his cure; and so mentioned those two; adding, that the king might appoint them to some see within the province of Canterbury. Hodgkin, if I mistake not, was consecrated suffragan of Bedford, and was afterwards one of those that assisted at the consecration of archbishop Parker[x]. He was a black friar. In the year 1531,

John Hodgkin.

[w] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 499, 630, 1, 700. part ii. B. 2. No. 8. p. 350. iii. p. 291. 2. For an account of his death, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 2099. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[x] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 805, 6. pt. ii. B. iii. No. 9. pp. 508–511. See also archbishop Bramhall's Consc.

he, with Bird, laboured with Bilney at Norwich, a little before his death, to bring him off from the doctrines for which he was condemned. Afterwards Hodgkin, coming nearer under the archbishop's eye, by his means came to better knowledge in religion, and married a wife; but in queen Mary's time put her away[y].

Henry Holbeach.

March 24, Henry Holbeach, prior of the cathedral church of Wigorn, S. T. P. (Hugh bishop of Wigorn[z] having recommended him to the king for suffragan bishop of Bristow,) was accordingly consecrated in the bishop of London's chapel, in the said bishop's house, situate in Lambeth-marsh, by the said bishop; Hugh bishop of Wigorn, and Robert bishop of St. Asaph[a], assisting.

of Protest. bishops vindicated. Works, vol. iii. Pref. 56. y. pp. 52. 74, 178. ed Oxon. 1844.]

[y] ["Another was a black friar, called Hodgekins, who after being under the archbishop of Canterbury, married, and afterwards in queen Mary's time put away his wife." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1008. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[z] [Hugh Latimer.]

[a] [Robert Warton.]

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH ALLOWED.

THE next year I find the careful archbishop again at Canterbury, looking after his charge. And here he read lectures upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, half the Lent in the chapter-house of the monastery of the Holy Trinity. Ann. 1538. The archbishop reads upon the Hebrews.

Now, viz. 1538, the holy Bible was divulged, and exposed to common sale, and appointed to be had in every parish church. And then, that the sacred book might be used with the more benefit, both of the clergy and lay people, for this reason a declaration was issued out, to be read openly by all curates, upon the publishing of this Bible, shewing the godly ends of his majesty in permitting it to be in English; and directions how they should read and hear it. Namely, to use it with reverence and great devotion; to conform their lives unto it; and to encourage those that were under them, wives, children, and servants, to live according to the rules thereof; that in doubtful places they should confer with the learned for the sense, who should be appointed to preach and explain the same, and not to contend and dispute about them in alehouses and taverns. They that are minded to read this declaration may find it in the Appendix. This Bible was of so quick sale, that two years after it was printed again. A declaration for reading the Bible. 64 N°. XXIII.

It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's word The Bible received and read with great joy.

was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the holy Scripture read. One William Maldon, happening in the company of John Foxe, in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and Foxe being very inquisitive after those that suffered for religion in the former reigns, asked him if he knew any that were persecuted for the gospel of Jesus Christ, that he might add it to his book of martyrs; he told him, he knew one that was whipped by his own father in king Henry's reign for it. And when Foxe was very inquisitive who he was, and what was his name, he confessed it was himself; and upon his desire he wrote out all the circumstances. Namely, that when the king had allowed the Bible to be set forth to be read in all churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived, and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading of it in the lower end of the church. Many would flock about them to hear their reading; and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the gospel. But his father observing it, once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to say the Latin matins with him, which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away. This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself: which when he had by diligence

Inter Foxii MSS.[x]

[x] [Harl. MSS. 590. Plut. lii. H. fol. 77. British Museum. Original.]

effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together; and, to conceal it, laid it under the bed-straw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breast then used, and holding up the hands to it, when it came by on procession: this he told his mother was plain idolatry and against the commandment of God, where he saith, "*Thou shalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worship it.*" His mother enraged at him for this said, "Wilt thou not worship the cross, which was about thee when thou wert christened, and must be laid on thee when thou art dead?" In this heat the mother and son departed and went to their beds. The sum of this evening's conference she presently repeats to her husband; which he impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son, for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and goes into his son's chamber, and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head, with both his hands pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear; his father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almost dead. I extract this out of the original relation of the person himself, wrote at Newington, near London, where he afterwards dwelt. Which relation he gave to John Foxe.

This year Nicolson, a very learned man, greatly acquainted with Tindal and Frith, and who, by reason of trouble from the bishops formerly, for the better con-

The archbishop had a hand in Lambert's death.

cealing himself for time to come, called himself Lambert, was adjudged to the flames, and cruelly burnt[y]. Wherein our archbishop and the lord Crumwel unhappily had their hands; the one in reading the sentence against him *De hæretico comburendo*, by the king's commandment; and the archbishop, first in having him before him in a judiciary way, and afterwards in disputing publicly against him in favour of the doctrine of the corporal presence. The first occasion of Lambert's troubles was this. At the hearing of a sermon of Dr. Taylor, (he who was afterwards bishop of Lincoln, and a favourer of the gospel,) preached by him at St. Peter's, Cornhill, he came and presented him with ten reasons against transubstantiation, written by him. Dr. Taylor, by Dr. Barnes' means, who, though in other things he favoured a reformation, and suffered death upon the Six Articles, yet was hot against sacramentaries at this time, thinking the broaching that doctrine might throw in some impediment to the progress of the gospel; Dr. Taylor, I say, by Barnes' advice, carried these reasons to the archbishop. Who, upon this, conventing Lambert before him, endeavoured to reclaim him by holding much discourse with him. The news of this came to the court. And by the instigation of the

[y] ["John Nicholson, alias Lambert, burnt for denying the corporal presence, A. D. 1538, was not condemned by Cranmer, but by the king in person, Crumwel reading the sentence. Before his sentence was passed, there was a disputation, opened by a speech from Sampson, bishop of Chichester. The king himself disputed against Lambert's first position, and then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to refute him."—See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1122, et sqq. In the archbishop's examination before Brookes, in the "talk between" himself and Dr. Martin, the latter inquired of him, "what doctrine he taught, when he condemned Lambert, the sacramentary in the king's presence in Whitehall;" to which he made answer, "I maintained then the papists' doctrine." Id. p. 1877. ed. Lond. 1583.]

bishop of Winchester[z], the king resolved to dispute with him himself, in a very public and solemn manner; and that because he had appealed from the bishops to the king.

The bishops dispute against Lambert's reasons.

The day being come, and the king present, with all his bishops on the right hand, and his nobles on the left, accompanied with his lawyers and other attendants, on purpose to terrify him, and to make an open signification, that though he had cast off the papal supremacy, yet he intended not to be a favourer of heresy so called; first commanded Richard Sampson bishop of Chichester, (Foxe saith it was Day bishop of Chichester[a]; but in that he was mistaken, for he was not yet bishop), to begin and give the reason of the meeting. He appointed the bishops now present to answer Lambert's ten reasons, as Foxe[b]; 66 or his eight, as the bishop of Chichester in his declaration mentioned. The archbishop answered the second, for the king himself had disputed against the first. The archbishop, according to his mild temper, but withal according to the false opinion which he then most confidently maintained, styling him brother Lambert, desired the matter might be decided indifferently between them: and that if he convinced Lambert by Scripture, Lambert would be willing to come over from his opinion; but if Lambert, on the other hand, could by Scripture convince him, he promised to embrace his opinion. Then he fell upon Lambert's reason, which was taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared unto Paul by the way; disputing from that place, that it was not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once: which being in heaven was seen the same time by St. Paul upon the earth. And, said the archbishop, "If it may be in two

[z] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[a] [Acts and Monuments, p. 1122. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[b] [Id. p. 1123.]

places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places[c]?" In what order and course the rest of the bishops disputed, or rather baited this poor man, it is uncertain; only Winchester had the sixth place, Tunstal of Durham next to him, and next Stokesly bishop of London. Richard bishop of Chichester, who was reputed a man of great learning, had his course, to whose turn it came to confute Lambert's sixth reason, which was taken from that of St. Paul to the Romans, "*Who hath ascended up to heaven, to bring Christ down from thence?*" His argument is preserved in the Cotton library. I refer the reader to the Appendix, where he shall meet with it. Whereby may be seen after what a haughty and indecent manner this meek confessor of Christ was dealt with: as though they designed rather to run him down and brow-beat him than answer him.

Rom. x. [6.]

Cleopatra E. 5. [fol. 371.]

No. XXIV.

[c] [Id. p. 1122.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S JUDGMENT OF THE EUCHARIST.

Cranmer zealous for the corporal presence.

But to return to Cranmer, whose opinion in the point of the sacrament we will stay a little upon. He was now a strong stickler for the carnal presence, and seemed greatly prejudiced to that opinion. There was one Joachim Vadianus, a learned man of St. Gall in Helvetia, and an acquaintance of the archbishop's[d]. He had framed a treatise intituled, "*Aphorisms upon the consideration of the Eucharist,*" in six books; which were intended to prove no corporal presence[e]. This book he presented to the archbishop: but though he loved him as a learned man, yet he declared himself much displeased with his argument; and wrote to him, "that he wished he had employed his study to better purpose, and that he had begun his correspondence with him in some better and more approved subject: adding, that he would be neither patron nor approver of that doctrine, until he saw stronger proofs for it." And so much did he dislike Œcolampadius and Zuinglius their opinion in this matter, that he applied that censure of St. Hierome concerning Origen to them; "That *where they wrote well, nobody writ better; and where* 67

[d] [Joachim Vadian was born at St. Gall, Switzerland, A. D. 1484, and was celebrated as a scholar and mathematician.]

[e] [Cranmer held this doctrine till A. D. 1546, "when by more mature and calm deliberation, and considering the point with less prejudice, and the sense of the Fathers more closely, in conference with Dr. Ridley, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and his fellow-martyr. he at last quitted and freed himself from the fetters of that unsound doctrine." Original letters, Engl. Reformat. First Portion, p. 13. Park. Soc. ed.]

ill, nobody worse." And he wished those learned men had gone no further than to confute papistical errors and abuses, and had not sown their tares with their good corn."

His reasons for it.

That which detained our archbishop in this error was the veneration he had for the ancient doctors of the church, whose writings, as he then thought, approved the doctrine of this gross presence; judging that none could ever reconcile those authors to the contrary opinion. Indeed he judged it the very doctrine of the Fathers from the beginning of the church: and he reckoned that it must be a truth, because otherwise it could not consist with God's goodness to his spouse, to leave her in such blindness so long. It seemed also that he built this his error upon the words of Scripture, taking the sense of "*This is my body*" literally.

Vadian, by this book, had intended to have brought Cranmer off from this opinion. And before him several attempts had been made that way; but he remained so rooted therein, that he seemed to be ever unmovable. He supposed also, that the giving up this doctrine would prove a great impediment to the work of the Gospel, that now proceeded well in the nation. He advised and beseeched all, both Lutherans and Zuinglians, that the churches of Christ would lay aside their controversies in that matter, and agree and unite in a Christian concord together, that they might propagate one sound pure doctrine, consonant to the discipline of the primitive church; and this would be the way to convert even Turks themselves to the obedience of the Gospel. But I recommend the reader to the archbishop's own letter to the said Vadianus; wherein he may see how fast and firm he stuck to this doctrine in these days. He will find it in the Appendix.

No. XXV.

Sanders'

Sanders, in his lying book of the English schism, would

make his reader believe that Cranmer was of this opinion for another reason, namely, because his master king Henry, thought so: and that he had so devoted himself to him, that he in all things whatsoever believed, and did, in conformity to him: giving Cranmer therefore the nickname of Henricianus. But we must attribute that suggestion to the well-known venomous pen of that man, who cared not what he writ, so he might but throw his dirt upon the reformation, and the reformers. The said author with the same malice would have it, that Cranmer was very variable and inconstant, having been first for a corporeal presence, afterwards a Lutheran, and then a Calvinist: and that he thus changed his opinion, as a sycophant and flatterer, to comply with every man's humour that was uppermost. That all the time of king Henry, he remained of that king's opinion, who was a vehement enemy to Luther; but when he was dead, he became wholly Lutheran, and put forth a catechism, dedicated to king Edward, and printed it; in which he taught, that every Christian that received the sacrament, either under the bread or in the bread or with the bread, certainly received into his mouth the very true body and blood of Christ. But that scarce a month passed, when the wretch (that is his word) understood that the duke of Somerset, the king's governor, was a Calvinist, and not a Lutheran; what should he do? He printed his 68
catechism again, changed the word; and of an Henrician and a Lutheran became a Calvinist[f].

slanders of the archbishop concerning his opinion in the sacrament.

[f] ["Atque nunc tempus et patrocinium opportunum ad rem suam bene factitandam nacti hæretici, undique, qui antea se sententiamve suam occultabant, in publicum prodeunt, et imprimis Thomas Cranmerus,—hic vir hactenus Henricianum, id est, illius regis sectatorem in omnibus se præbens, ne latam quidem unguem ab Henrici præscripto recedere ausus, sacrificio missæ interfuit quotidie, statis etiam diebus id ipse solemniter obtulit:

When Cranmer changed his opinion.

But to give a more true and respectful account of our archbishop, as to his continuance in this opinion, and his change of it. Hitherto we have seen his opinion for a corporeal presence. In the next year, (viz. 1539,) I find one Adam Damplip of Calais, a learned preacher, convented before him, and several other bishops, for not holding the real presence[g]. From which opinion the archbishop, with the rest, did endeavour to bring him off: though then he marvelled much at the answers that Damplip made, and confessed openly and plainly, that the Scripture knew no such term as *transubstantiation*[h]. In the year 1541, he had one Barber, a master of arts

—iste ergo jam desiit esse Henricianus, et tam ex immatura regis Edouardi ætate quam ex Protectoris in sectas summa propensione, suæ statim simul et libidini et hæresi habenas laxandas censuit, — et catechismum Edouardo dedicatum, falsæ impiæque doctrinæ plenum, in lucem edidit.—Animas enim isti et linguas habentes venales, in secta constituenda omnino a Cranmero archiepiscopo, qui adhuc ultra Lutheranismum non erat progressus; is itidem a Protectore pendebat, qui in Zuinglianismum — propensus videbatur." Sanderi vera et sincera hist. schismat. Anglic. lib. ii. pp. 180, 1, 90, ed. Colon. Agrip. 1628.]

[g] [For a full account of the persecutions at Calais, in which George Bucker, alias Adam Damplip, was concerned, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1223, et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583. A part of an "Original letter from the deputy of Calais and others, touching the examination of one Damplip and Stevens, touching cardinal Poole," anno 30 Hen. VIII. is preserved in the Harl. MSS. 283. fol. 89. British Museum.]

[h] ["So that within eight or ten days after, the said Damlip was sent for to appear before the bishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, D. Sampson, bishop of Chichester, and divers other, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine, which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and soluting the objections, as his adversaries, yea, even among other, the learned, godly, and blessed martyr Cranmer, then yet but a Lutheran, marvelled at it, and said plainly that the Scripture knew no such term of transubstantiation."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1224. ed. Lond. 1583.]

of Oxford, brought before him for denying the said corporeal presence: the archbishop disputed again earnestly for that doctrine against this man, yet could not but admire at his readiness in citing his places out of St. Augustin, nor could tell how to confute them, as Mr. Ralph Morice, his secretary, related afterward to John Foxe[i]. And this tenet he held to the very last year of king Henry, that is, to the year 1546: when, by more mature and calm deliberation, and considering the point with less prejudice, and the sense of the Fathers more closely, in conference with Dr. Ridley, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and his fellow-martyr, he at last quitted and freed himself from the fetters of that unsound doctrine; as appears by the epistle dedicatory before his book of the Sacrament in Latin, printed by the exiles at Embden[j]. Which epistle we may give credit to, being

Acts and Mon. p. 1101.

[i] ["In Oxford also the same time, (A. D. 1541), or much thereabout, recanted one M. Barber, master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned, who, being called up to Lambeth before the archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that, (as it is credibly affirmed of them, which yet be alive, and were present thereat), neither Cranmer himself, nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of Austin; wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the archbishop, with the residue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding by compulsion of the time, and danger of the Six Articles, at last he relented, and returning again to Oxford, was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but ware away. *Ex testimonio Rad. Moris.*" Id. p. 1207.]

[j] ["Ne quis autem putet, hunc sanctum Dei martyrem, (i. e. Cranmerum,) ad asserendam hanc de cœna Dominica explicationem, (quæ multis fortasse sciolis pro paradoxo quodam habeatur), vel temere vel factiose descendisse, neutiquam id te latere velim, pie lector, hunc virum, post multam scripturarum pervestigationem, ex unius beati martyris Ridlei episcopi Londonensis institutione, sero tandem (nimirum anno 46) in eam, quam

written, (as is thought), by sir John Cheke, who well knew the archbishop, and matters relating to him.

Latimer of the same judgment.

After archbishop Cranmer and Ridley had changed their opinion, Latimer not long after changed his in this point: for, as they all three died martyrs at Oxon, I am willing to join them together here. It was but seven years before his burning that he relinquished that old error, that is, about the year 1547, as he confessed to Dr. Weston in his disputation[k]. There is an argument the said Latimer made use of, to prove the deceit of the blood of Hales; which argument supposes him then of this opinion. It was pretended by the priests, that none could see this blood but those that were confessed and absolved by the priest, and so clean in life; and their seeing of it was a sign they were so. But, said Latimer in those times, for the exposing of this fraud; "Those wretches that scourged Christ, and nailed him to his cross, did see his blood with their bodily eyes, and yet were not in clean life. And we see the selfsame blood in form of wine, when we have consecrate, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving[l]." We shall perhaps say more of

Foxe, p. 1581.

hic tuetur, sententiam adductum esse."—Defensio veræ et cathol. doctr. de Sacramento. Pio Lectori S. ed. Embd. 1557. See Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Appendix, p. 6, Park. Soc. ed. where this Latin translation of abp. Cranmer on the sacrament is printed entire.]

[k] [*West.* "The time hath been when you said mass full devoutly."

Lat. "Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it."

West. "Where learned you this new-fangleness?"

Lat. "I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years: and my lord of Canterbury his book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1456.]

[l] [Id. p. 1742.]

the archbishop's opinion in the eucharist, when we come to speak of his book relating to that argument.

Divers priests now, as well religious as secular, had married themselves, after the example of the archbishop, who kept his wife secretly with him. But some of these married priests were so indiscreet, that they lived publicly and openly with their wives, though the ecclesiastical laws were in force against such marriages, nor had they any allowances by the king and realm in parliament; only some had dispensations (as it is said) from the archbishop. Therefore the king, pressed by some of the papists about him, (who began now, after Lambert's death, to listen to them), set forth a proclamation, November 16, for the stopping of such matrimonies. Which ran in this tenor:

Divers priests marry wives.

69

"That the king's majesty understanding that a few in number of this his realm, being priests, as well religious as other, had taken wives, and married themselves, &c. His highness in no wise minding that the generality of the clergy of this his realm should, with the example of such a few number of light persons, proceed to marriage without a common consent of his highness, and his realm; did therefore straitly charge and command, as well all and singular the said priests as have attempted marriages, that be openly known, as all such as would presumptuously proceed to the same, that they, ne any of them should minister any sacrament, or other ministry mystical: ne have any office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity, heretofore accustomed, and belonging to the clergy of this realm; but should be utterly, after such marriages, expelled and deprived from the same; and be had and reputed as lay-persons to all intents and purposes. And that such as should after this proclamation, contrary to his commandment, of their presumptuous mind, take wives and be married, should run in his grace's indigna-

The king's proclamation against priests' marriages.

tion, and suffer further punishment and imprisonment at his grace's will and pleasure. *Dat.* xvi. *Novembris, anno regni sui* xxx.[m]"

Wherein we may observe what a particular regard the king had for the archbishop in relation to his wife, that the danger of the proclamation might not reach him, by limiting the penalty, not to such as were married, and kept their wives secretly, but to such as should marry hereafter, and such as kept them openly. And we may observe further, that it seemed to be in the king's mind in due time to tolerate marriages to priests by act of parliament, which that clause seems to import, that these priests had married themselves "*without a common consent of his highness and his realm.*" And bishop Ponet, or whoever else was the author of the defence of priests' marriage[n], assures us, that the king intended to permit priests to take wives, knowing how necessary it was to grant that liberty; and he affirms, that it was not unknown to divers that heard him speak oft of that matter: but was hindered by some jealous counsellors, that pretended how ill the people would take it, had it been done by his authority.

Defence of Priests' Marriage, p. 198.[m]

Anabaptists;

The sect of Anabaptists did now begin to pester this church; and would openly dispute their principles in taverns and public places; and some of them were taken up. Many also of their books were brought in and printed here also; which was the cause that the king now set out a severe proclamation against them and their books. To which he joined the Sacramentaries, as lately with the other come into the land; declaring, "That he abhorred and detested their errors; and that those that were apprehended he would make examples. Ordering, 70 that they should be detected, and brought before the

[m] [See Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. p. 696. where it is "in the thirteenth year of our reign."]

[n] [See above, p. 113.]

king or his council; and that all that were not should in eight or ten days depart the kingdom." This proclamation may be read in the Appendix, Num. VIII. where I have misplaced it[o].

A commission also was then given out to the archbishop, to John bishop of Lincoln[p], Richard bishop of Chichester[q], and others, against this sect. Which commission was signed at the bottom by Thomas Crumwel. A commission against them. Cran. Regist.

It was observed that the parsons, vicars, and curates did read confusedly the word of God, and the king's Injunctions, lately set forth, and commanded by them to be read; humming and hawking thereat, that almost no man could understand the meaning of the injunction. And they secretly suborned certain spreaders of rumours and false tales in corners, who interpreted the injunctions to a false sense. And because there was an order that all christenings, marriages, and burials should be registered from time to time, and the books surely kept in the parish churches, they blew abroad, that the king intended to make new exactions at all christenings, weddings, and burials: adding, that therein the king went about to take away the liberties of the realm, for which, they said, Thomas à Becket died. And they bad their parishioners, notwithstanding what they read, being compelled so to do, that they should do as they did in times past, to live as their fathers; and that the old fashion is the best: and other crafty and seditious parables they gave out among them. The waywardness of the priests. Cleopat. E. 6. p. 222.[r]

This forced the king to write his letters to the justices of peace, to take up such seditious parsons, vicars, and curates[s]. And in these letters is explained the true reason Occasions the king to write to the justices.

[o] [In this edition the proclamation is inserted in the Appendix in its proper place after No. xxv.; see also Foxe's Acts and Monuments; pp. 1133, 34. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[p] [John Longland.]

[q] [Richard Sampson.]

[r] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 222. British Museum. Original.]

[s] [See Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. p. 848.]

of Thomas à Becket's contention with king Henry II. As, that he contended, that none of the clergy offending should be called to account, or corrected, but in the bishops' courts only, and not by the laws of the realm: and that no king should be crowned but by the archbishop of Canterbury only.

He visits the diocese of Hereford.

The church of Hereford being now become vacant by the death of Fox[t], (an excellent instrument of the reformation), the archbishop committed the custody of the spiritualities to Hugh Coren, doctor of canon laws, and prebendary of that church, and by him visited the church and diocese, and gave certain Injunctions to the parsons, vicars, and other curates there. These injunctions, as I find them in Cranmer's Register, were eight in number[u]: which I shall not here insert at large, because they may be met with in the History of the Reformation. But in short, they enjoined the observation of the king's Injunctions, given by his majesty's commissaries in the year 1536. They enjoined, that they should have, by the first of August, a whole Bible in Latin and English; or at least a New Testament in the same languages. That they should every day study one chapter of the Bible or Testament, conferring the Latin and English together; and to begin at the beginning of the book,

Cranm. Regist. [fol. 96. b. 97.]

Par. i. b. iii. Collect. 12.[x]

[t] ["Fox, bishop of Hereford, died May 8, 1538. Boner was elected to succeed him, Nov. 27 of the same year. In the interval Cranmer deputed Hugh Coren, prebendary of Hereford, to visit the diocese and promulgate these Injunctions. Boner was translated to London before consecration, and the see of Hereford was not permanently filled till Skyp was elected, Oct. 24, 1539. On his death, in 1552, the custody of the spiritualities was again committed to Hugh Coren, then dean, in conjunction with Richard Cheney, archdeacon." See Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 19.]

[u] [The injunctions are inserted in this edition in the Appendix.]

[x] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. B. 3. No. 12. pp. 285, 6. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

and so continue to the end. That they should not discourage any laymen from reading the Bible, but encourage them to it. And to read it for the reformation of their lives, and knowledge of their duty; and not 71
to be bold and presumptuous in judging of things before they have perfect knowledge. That they should, both in their preachings and confessions, and in other their doings, excite their parishioners unto such works as are commanded by God expressly: adding, that for this God should demand of them a strict reckoning. And to teach them, that other works, which they do of their own devotion, are not to be so highly esteemed as the other: and that for the not doing them, God will not ask any account. That no friar have any cure or service in their churches, unless he were dispensed withal and licensed by the ordinary. That they admit no young person to the sacrament, who never received it before, unless such person openly in the church, after mass upon a holy day, say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. That they twice a quarter declare the bands of matrimony, and the danger of using their bodies but with such persons as they might by the law of God; and that no privy contracts be made, as they would avoid the extreme peril of the laws of the realm."

No diocesan bishop consecrated this year.

BISHOPS SUFFRAGANS.

Robert bishop of St. Asaph[y] recommended to the king John Bradley, abbot of the monastery of Milton, of the order of St. Benedict, or William Pelles, both bachelors of divinity, to the dignity of suffragan within the diocese [province rather] of Canterbury, mentioning no particular see. The bishop of Bath and Wells[z] also recommended two to the king, out of which to nominate a suffragan to

Bishops consecrated.

Cranm. Regist.

[y] [Robert Warton.] [z] [John Clerk.]

some see within the province of Canterbury, viz. William Finch, late prior of Bremar, and Richard Walshe, prior of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Bridgewater.

William Finch.

April the 7th, William Finch was nominated by the king to the archbishop to be consecrated for suffragan of Taunton; and then consecrated in the chapel of St. Mary's, in the conventual church of the Friars Preachers, London, by John bishop of Rochester[a], by virtue of letters commissional from the archbishop, Robert bishop of St. Asaph[b], and William suffragan of Colchester, assisting. And,

John Bradley

March the 23rd, John Bradley was consecrated suffragan of Shaftesbury, in the chancel of the parish church of St. John Baptist in Southampton, by John bishop of Bangor[c], by the letters commissional of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, John Ipolitanen. and Thomas suffragan of Malborough, assisting.

[a] [John Hilsey.] [b] [Robert Warton.] [c] [John Salcot.]

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ACT OF SIX ARTICLES.

The archbishop makes Nic. Wotton commissary of his Faculties. Cranm. Regist. 72

This year, October the 6th, I meet with a commission, *ad facultates*, granted from the archbishop to a famous man, Nicholas Wotton, LL.D.[d] a man of great learning, and made use of by the king afterwards in divers embassies, and a privy counsellor to king Henry, and his three children successively princes of the realm, and dean of Canterbury and York. This commission was in pursuance of a late act of parliament to this tenor; that in whatsoever cases, not prohibited by divine right, in which the bishop of Rome, or Roman see, heretofore accustomed to dispense, and also in all other cases in which the bishop, or see of Rome accustomed not to dispense, if so be they were not forbid by divine right; in these cases the archbishop had power granted him to dispense. In this office he constituted Wotton his commissary or deputy for the term of his natural life. He succeeded Edmund Boner, master of the archbishop's faculties, now preferred to the bishopric of Hereford. So that Cranmer took notice of the merits of this man, who was so much made use of afterwards in the church and state; and was of that great esteem and reputation, that he was thought on, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, for archbishop of Canterbury. In the year 1528, he was doctor of laws, and the bishop of London's official. In the year 1540, he was resident for the king in the duke of Cleves' court; and

Ath. Oxon. p. 124.[e]

[d] [See Chalmer's Biog. Dict. art. Wotton, and Le Neve's Fasti, p. 104. ed. Lond. 1716. The act of parliament referred to was 28° Hen. VIII. [A. D. 1536.] c. 16. See Statutes at large, vol. iii. p. 672.]

[e] [See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. col. 368–370. ed. Bliss, 1812–20. See also Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 10, 315.]

had been employed in the match between the king and the lady Ann of that house the year before; and perhaps this might be the first time he was sent abroad in the king's business.

Ann. 1539. In the year 1539, the king took occasion to be displeased with the archbishop and the other bishops *of the new learning*, as they then termed them, because they could not be brought to give their consent in the parliament that the king should have all the monasteries suppressed to his own sole use. They were willing he should have all the lands as his ancestors gave to any of them; but the residue they would have had bestowed upon hospitals, grammar-schools for bringing up of youth in virtue and good learning, with other things profitable in the commonwealth. The king was hereunto stirred by the crafty insinuations of the bishop of Winchester[f], and other old dissembling papists. And as an effect of this displeasure, as it was thought, in the parliament this year, he made the terrible bloody act of the Six Articles[g]: whereby none

The king offended with the archbishop and some other bishops.

Life of Cranm. inter Foxii MSS.

[f] [Stephen Gardiner. See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1121, 2. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[g] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 91. British Museum. Original. The following are the Six Articles, which were "resolved by the convocation the old popish way," and enacted by the parliament, under the title, "An act for abolishing diversities of opinions." Cranmer and other divines argued boldly against them, but unsuccessfully.

First.—"That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present.

Secondly.—"That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds.

Thirdly.—"That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God.

Fourthly.—"That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

Fifthly.—"That the use of private masses ought to be continued; which as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them.

were suffered to speak a word against the doctrine of transubstantiation upon pain of being burnt to death as an heretic, and to forfeit all his lands and goods, as in

Sixthly.—"That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church."

"The parliament thanked the king for the pains he had taken in these articles: and enacted, that if any, after the twelfth of July, [A. D. 1539.] did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burnt without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estate to the king. And those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to be judged felons, and to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy. And those who, either in word or writing, spake against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, for the first time: and if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void: and if any priest did still keep any such woman, whom he had so married, and lived familiarly with her, as with his wife, he was to be judged a felon: and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was upon the first conviction to forfeit his benefices, goods and chattels, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and upon the second conviction was to suffer as a felon. The women so offending were also to be punished in the same manner as the priests: and those who contemned or abstained from confession or the sacrament at the accustomed times, for the first offence, were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second were to be adjudged of felony. And, for the execution of this act, commissions were to be issued out to all archbishops and bishops, and their chancellors and commissaries, and such others in the several shires as the king should name, to hold their sessions quarterly or oftener; and they were to proceed upon presentments, and by a jury. Those commissioners were to swear, that they should execute their commission indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter. And, in the end, a proviso was added, concerning vows of chastity: that they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the age of twenty-one years; or had not been compelled to take them."—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 518–20. ed. Oxon. 1829. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v.

case of treason. And moreover, it was made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, marriage in a priest, or in any man or woman that had vowed chastity: or to say any thing against the necessity of private masses and auricular confession. Which articles were plainly enough designed against any that should dare to open their mouths against these Romish errors, and especially to impose silence, and that on pain of death, upon many honest preachers that were now risen up, and used to speak freely against these abuses; and as a good means to keep the poor people still securely in their old ignorance and superstition.

The Six Articles opposed by the archbishop.

But before this act passed, marvellous great struggling there was on both parts for and against it. But the side of the favourers of the gospel at this time was the weaker, 73 the king now inclining more to the other party, for the reason abovesaid, and for other causes: wherein I refer the reader to the conjectures of the lord Herbert. The bishops disputed long in the house, some for it, and some against it. The archbishop disputed earnestly three days against it, using divers arguments to dissuade passing the act: which were so remarkable for the learning and weight of them, that the king required a copy of them. And

Life of king Henry, p. 512.[d]

pp. 38, 39. ed. Lond. 1840, 1. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. part i. pp. 542, 3. ed. Oxon. 1822. See also Statutes at large 31°. Hen. VIII. cap. 14. vol. iii. pp. 739.]

[d] ["Therefore Cranmer for three days together in the open assembly opposed these articles boldly; though yet it appears not what arguments he used. Only I find the king sent to him for a copy of them, and misliked not his freedom, as knowing all he spake was out of a sincere intention; though some thought he had a private interest, as being a married man, through fearing of this law, he sent away his wife for the present into Germany, she being the kinswoman to Hosiander, the divine of Noremberg, whom he married during his ambassadry with the emperor, about anno 1532."—Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p. 512. ed. Lond. 1672.]

though he was resolved not to alter his purpose of having this act made, yet he was not offended with the archbishop's freedom, as knowing the sincerity of the man. Even those in the house that dissented from him were greatly taken with the gravity, eloquence, and learning he then shewed, and particularly the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk: who told him so at his table soon after, being sent by the king to him to comfort him under his dejection for this act, with Crumwel and many other lords. The papist writers say he opposed it because himself was a married man, and so it would touch him close: but it is plain that there were other of these six articles which he utterly disliked; and especially he abhorred the rigorous penalty of the act. But hereupon he privately sent away his wife into Germany among her friends. On this side also were, beside the archbishop, the bishops of Ely[e], Sarum[f], Worcester[g], Rochester[h], and St. David's[i]: York[j], Durham[k], Winchester[l], and Carlisle[m], went vigorously the other way. Against the former the king himself argued, with his learning, out of the scriptures; and would by all means prove these articles thence. The parliament men said little against this bill, but seemed all unanimous for it: neither did the lord chancellor Audley, no, nor the lord privy seal, Crumwel, speak against it: the reason being, no question, because they saw the king so resolved upon it. Nay, it came to be a flying report that the archbishop of Canterbury himself, and all the bishops, except Sarum, consented. But this is not likely that Cranmer, who had so openly and zealously opposed it,

[e] [Thomas Goodrich.]
[f] [Nicholas Shaxton.]
[g] [Hugh Latimer.]
[h] [John Hilsey.]
[i] [William Barlow.]
[j] [Edward Lee.]
[k] [Cuthbert Tunstal.]
[l] [Stephen Gardiner.]
[m] [Robert Aldrich.]

should be so soon changed, and brought to comply with it. Nay, at the very same time it passed, he stayed and protested against it, though the king desired him to go out, since he could not consent to it. Worcester also, as well as Sarum, was committed to prison: and he, as well as the other, resigned up his bishopric upon the act.

The arguments the archbishop made use of at this time lost.

In the foresaid disputation in the parliament-house, the archbishop behaved himself with such humble modesty and obedience in word towards his prince; protesting the cause not to be his, but God's; that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king, and his allegations and reasons were so strong, that they could not be refuted. Great pity it is, that these arguments of the archbishop are lost; which I suppose they are irrecoverably, because Foxe, that lived so near those times, and so elaborate a searcher after such papers, could not meet with them; and all that he could do, was to wish that they were extant to be seen and read[n]. However, I will make my

[n] ["For every man seeing the king's mind so fully addict upon politic respects to have these articles to pass forward, few or none in all that parliament would appear, which either could perceive that was to be defended, or durst defend that they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then being married, (as is supposed), like a constant patron of God's cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth oppressed in the parliament, three days together disputing against those six wicked articles, bringing forth such allegations and authorities, as might easily have helped the cause, *nisi pars major vicisset, ut sæpe solet, meliorem.* Who, in the said disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words toward his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God; that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king; and again his reasons and allegations were so strong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the king, (who ever bare special favour unto him), well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament house into the council chamber, for a time, (for safeguard of his conscience),

conjecture here, that I am apt to think that one of the main matters insisted on by him at this time was against

till the act should pass and be granted; which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to do. After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king, considering the constant zeal of the archbishop, in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons whereby he had substantially confirmed the same, sent the lord Crumwel, (which within few days after was apprehended), the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth, where they signified unto him that it was the king's pleasure that they all should, in his highness' behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travail in that parliament had declared himself both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked, first, the king's highness, of his singular good affection towards him, and them all for their pains, adding moreover, that he so hoped in God that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place, to the glory of God and commodity of the realm. Which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were amongst us extant to be seen and read; no doubt but they would stand in time to come in great good stead, for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1136. ed. Lond. 1583. "It was declared before, p. 1136, that what time these six articles were in hand in the parliament house, Cranmer, then being archbishop of Canterbury, only withstood the same, disputing three days against them; whose reasons and arguments I wish were extant and remaining. After these articles were thus passed and concluded, the king, who always bare especial favour unto Cranmer, perceiving him to be not a little discomforted therewith, sent all the lords of the parliament, and with them the lord Crumwel, to dine with him at Lambeth, (as is afore declared), and within few days also upon the same, required that he would give a note of all his doings and reasonings in the said parliament, which the said Cranmer eftsoons accomplished accordingly, drawing out his reasons and allegations, the copy whereof, being fair written out by his secretary, was sent and delivered unto the king, and there remained." Id. p. 1177; see also pp. 1185, 6, 9. 1865.]

the cruel penalty annexed to these articles. For I find in one of the archbishop's manuscript volumes, now in
74 Benet college library, there is in this very year a discourse in Latin upon this subject, *Num in hæreticos jure magistratui gravius animadvertere liceat: Decisio Urbani Rhegii, Interprete Jacobo Gisleno. Anno* 1539. Which book I suppose he might at this juncture have read over, and made use of.

The king's message to the archbishop by the lords.

The dukes and lords of parliament, that, as above was said, came over to Lambeth to visit and dine with him, by the king's command, used words to him to this tenor; "The king's pleasure is, that we should in his behalf cherish and comfort you, as one that for your travail in the late parliament declared yourself both greatly learned, and also discreet and wise: and therefore, my lord, be not discouraged for any thing that passed there contrary to your allegations." The archbishop replied, "In the first place, my lords, I heartily thank the king's highness for his singular good affection towards me, and you all, for your pains. And I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place, to the glory of God, and commodity of the realm." Every of the lords brought forth his sentence in commendation of him, to shew what good-will both the king and they bare to him. One of them entered into a comparison between the said archbishop and cardinal Wolsey, preferring the archbishop before him for his mild and gentle nature; whereas, he said, the cardinal was a stubborn and churlish prelate, that could never abide any nobleman. The lord Crumwel, as Cranmer's secretary relates, who himself heard the words, "You, my lord," said he, "were born in an happy hour I suppose; for do or say what you will, the king will always take it well at your hands. And I must needs confess, that in some things I have

MS. Life of Cranmer, in C.C.C.C.

complained of you to his majesty; but all in vain, for he will never give credit against you, whatsoever is laid to your charge: but let me or any other of the council be complained of, his grace will most seriously chide and fall out with us: and therefore you are most happy, if you can keep you in this state."

A book of ceremonies laboured to be brought in.

The Roman zealots, having obtained this act of the Six Articles, desisted not, but seconded their blow by a book of "*Ceremonies to be used by the Church of England*," so intituled; all running after the old popish strain. It proceeded all along in favour of the Roman church's superstitious ceremonies, endeavouring to shew the good signification of them. The book first begins with an index of the points touched therein; viz. "churches and churchyards, the hallowing and reconciling them. The ceremonies about the sacrament of baptism. Ordering of the ministers of the church in general. Divine service to be sung and said in the church. Matins, prime and other hours. Ceremonies used in the mass. Sundays, with other feasts. Bells. Vesture and tonsure of the ministers of the church, and what service they be bound unto. Bearing candles upon Candlemas-day. Fasting days. The giving of ashes. The covering of the cross and images in Lent. Bearing of palms. The service of Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday before Easter. The hallowing of oil and chrism. The washing of the altars. The hallowing of the font upon Saturday in the Easter-even. The ceremonies of the resurrection in Easter-morning. General and other particular processions. Bene- 75
dictions of bells or priests. Holy water and holy bread. A general doctrine to what intent ceremonies be ordained, and of what value they be." The book itself is too long to be here inserted; but such as have the curiosity may find it in the Cotton library, and may observe what pains

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 259.

was taken to smooth and varnish over the old superstitions[o]. I do not find this book mentioned by any of our historians. The bishop of Winchester[p], with his own pen, hath an annotation in the margin of one place in the book: and I strongly suspect he was more than the reviser of it; and that it was drawn up by him and his party, and strongly pushed on to be owned as the act of the clergy: for this year there was a convocation. The king had sent his letters, written March the 12th, in the 30th year of his reign, viz. 1538, to the archbishop of Canterbury for summoning a convocation, to meet together at St. Paul's the second day of May. But this assembly, by the king's letters to him, was prorogued till November the 4th. At this convocation, I suppose, these articles were invented and propounded to the house. All this long book, in behalf of the ceremonies, did our laborious metropolitan put himself to the pains of answering, and thereby hindered the reception of it: for concerning this, I do interpret that passage of Foxe, viz. That the archbishop confuted eighty-eight articles devised by a convocation, and which were laboured to be received, but were not[q]. But to return to the Six Articles.

A convocation.

The papists rejoice.

Great triumphing now there was on the papists' side, as appears by a letter wrote from some Roman catholic member of the house of lords to his friend: which may be read in the Appendix. But after some time, the king perceiving that the said archbishop and bishops did this thing, not of malice or stubbornness, but out of a zeal

No. XXVI.

[o] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 259. British Museum. Original. This book of ceremonies will also be found in the Appendix of Records and Originals of the author's Ecclesiastical Memorials.]

[p] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[q] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1870. ed. Lond. 1583.]

they had to God's glory and the commonwealth, reformed in part the said Six Articles, and somewhat blunted the edge of them[r].

March 20, two commissions were sent to the archbishop to take the surrender of two houses of religious persons; namely, that of Christ's Church, Canterbury, and that of Rochester. Two priories surrendered to the archbishop.

Towards the latter end of this year several new bishoprics were founded out of old monasteries; and several deaneries and colleges of prebends out of divers priories belonging to cathedral churches. Herein as Crumwel, so Cranmer had a great hand; who laboured with the king that in these new foundations there should be readers of Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew, and students trained up in religion and learning; from whence, as a nursery, the bishops should supply their dioceses with honest and able ministers: and so every bishop should have a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merits; for it was our archbishop's regret, that the prebendaries were bestowed as they were. This complaint bishop Burnet tells us he saw in a long letter of Cranmer's own hand[s]. The archbishop and Crumwel labour with the king about the new bishoprics. Hist. Ref. P. i. p. 301.

BISHOPS CONFIRMED.

In archbishop Cranmer's register I find these bishops confirmed, their consecrations being omitted. Bishops this year.

August the 11th, John Bell, LL.D. brought up in Balliol College, and archdeacon of Glocester, was con- John Bell. 76

[r] [For an account of the qualification of the act of the Six Articles, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1230, 31.]

[s] [See Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. iv. fol. 302. British Museum. Original. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. part i. pp. 269–271. part ii. b. iii. No. 65. pp. 213–216. ed. Oxon. 1829; and works of abp. Cranmer, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. letter cclxv. pp. 396, 7.]

firmed bishop of Worcester, [Aug. 11th,] upon the resignation of bishop Latimer, in the chapel of Lambeth. He is styled in the register, the *king's chaplain and counsellor*[t].

John Skyp. November the [20th,] John Skyp, D. D.[u] archdeacon of Dorset, and once chaplain to queen Ann Bolen, was confirmed bishop of Hereford. The king's letter to the archbishop to consecrate him bears date November 8.

[t] [See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 298. ed. Lond. 1716.]

[u] [John Skyp was consecrated bishop of Hereford at Lambeth Nov. 23. 1539. Id. p. 111.]

CHAPTER XX.

THE ARCHBISHOP IN COMMISSION.

Ann. 1540.

The archbishop's enemies accuse him.

The next year, viz. 1540, the archbishop lost his great friend and assistant in carrying on the reformation; I mean the lord Crumwel. And when he was, by popish craft and malice, taken off, their next work was to sacrifice Cranmer. And many were the accusations that were put up against him: and trial was made many ways to bring him to his death, or at least to bring him in disgrace with the king.

His honesty and courage in discharge of a commission.

And first, they thought to compass their ends against him by occasion of a commission now issued out from the king to a select number of bishops, whereof the archbishop was one, (which commission was confirmed by act of parliament), for inspecting into matters of religion, and explaining some of the chief doctrines of it. These commissioners had drawn up a set of articles, favouring the old popish superstitions: and meeting together at Lambeth they produced them, and vehemently urged that they should be established, and that the archbishop would yield to the allowance of them; especially seeing there was a signification, that it was the king's will and pleasure that the articles should run in that tenor. But they could not win the archbishop neither by fear nor flattery; no, though the lord Crumwel at this very time lay in the Tower. There was not one commissioner now on his part, but all shrank away and complied with the time: and even those he most trusted to, viz. bishop Hethe of Rochester, and bishop Skyp of Hereford. The archbishop, as he disliked the book already drawn up by them, so he pre-

sented another book wherein were divers amendments of theirs. After much arguing and disputing, nor could the archbishop be brought off, Hethe and Skyp, with a friend or two more, walked down with him into his garden at Lambeth, and there used all the persuasion they could; urging to him that the king was resolved to have it so, and the danger therefore of opposing it. But he honestly persisted in his constancy; telling them, "that there was but one truth in the articles to be concluded upon, which if they hid from his majesty, by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, his highness would in process of time perceive the truth, and see how colourably they had dealt with him. And he knew, he said, his grace's nature so well, that he would never after credit and trust them.
77 And they being both his friends, he bade them beware in time and discharge their consciences in maintenance of the truth." But though nothing of all this could stir them, yet what he said sufficiently confirmed the archbishop to persist in his resolution[v].

And his success therein.

The archbishop standing thus alone, went himself to the king, and so wrought with him, that his majesty joined with him against all the rest of them; and the book of articles passed on his side. When indeed this stiffness of Canterbury was the very thing his enemies desired; thinking that for this opposition the king would certainly have thrown him into the Tower; and many wagers were laid in London about it. So that this ended in two good issues; that the archbishop's enemies were clothed with shame and disappointment, and a very good book, chiefly of the archbishop's composing, came forth for the instruction of the people, known by the name of "*A Necessary Erudition of any Christian Man:*" a particular account

[v] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1865, 66. ed. Lond. 1583.]

whereof may be read in the History of the Reformation[w]. This vexed Winchester[x] to the heart, that his plot took no better effect: but he put it up, till he should find other opportunities to attack him, which after happened, as we shall see in the sequel of this story. Hist. Ref. P. i. p. 286.

But this matter deserves to be a little more particularly treated of: the king had, as was said before, appointed several of the eminent divines of his realm to deliberate about sundry points of religion then in controversy, and to give in their sentences distinctly. And that in regard of the Germans, who the last year had sent over in writing the judgment of their divines respecting some articles of religion; and had offered his majesty to appoint some of their divines to meet some others of the king's, in any place he should assign; or to come over into England to confer together. And also in regard of a more exact review of the "*Institution of a Christian Man*," put forth about two or three years before, and now intended to be published again, as a more perfect piece of religious instruction for the people. The king therefore, being minded thoroughly to sift divers points of religion, then started and much controverted, commanded a particular number of bishops, and other his learned chaplains and dignitaries, to compare the rites and ceremonies and tenets of the present church, by the Scriptures, and by the most ancient writers; and to see how far the Scripture, or good antiquity, did allow of the same. And this I suppose he did by the instigation of archbishop Cranmer. Questions of religion to be discussed by divines by the king's command.

The names of the commissioners were these; Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Lee archbishop of York, Boner bishop of London, Tunstal bishop of Durham, Barlow bishop of St. David's, Aldrich bishop of Carlisle, Skyp The names of the commissioners.

[w] [See Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. pp. 572 et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[x] [Stephen Gardiner.]

bishop of Hereford, Hethe bishop of Rochester, Thirlby bishop elect of Westminster; doctors Cox, Robinson, Day, Oglethorp, Redman, Edgeworth, Symonds, Tresham, Leighton, Curwen, Crayford; where we may wonder not to see the name of the bishop of Winton*: but if we consider the reason the king gave why he left him out of the number of his executors, viz. because, (as he told several noblemen then about him), that bishop was a turbulent wilful man; and if he were joined with them,
78 they should have no quiet in their consultations; the same reason we may conclude moved the king now, in these deliberations about religion, to lay him aside. These persons were generally learned and moderate men, and such as we may conjecture the archbishop had the nomination of to the king: however, we may be sure Winchester was not idle at this time.

Seventeen questions upon the sacrament.

And first the doctrine of the sacraments was examined, by propounding seventeen distinct questions, drawn up, as I have reason to conclude, by the archbishop, on which the divines were to consult: but each one was to set down in writing his sense of every of these questions singly and succinctly. These questions are the same with those in the History of the Reformation[y]. The right reverend

Part i. Collect. xxi. p. 201.

[y] [Abp. Cranmer's answers to these seventeen questions are inserted in the Appendix of this edition, being taken from Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 63. British Museum. Original, and the Stillingfleet MSS. 1108. fol. 69. Original, preserved in the Lambeth archiepiscopal library.]

Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 274.†

Acts and Mon. first edit. p. 816.

* Whereas I had said, that the bishop of Winchester was not in a commission there specified; it appears by Crumwel's speech, set down by the bishop of Sarum, that that bishop was then indeed a commissioner. Here my MS. deceived me. But be it noted what the lord Paget testified before the commissioners at that bishop's trial in 1549; namely, that because he was so wilful in his opinion, and addicted to the popish part, the king left him out of the commission for compiling the last book of religion. And what that book was I know not, unless the "*Necessary Erudition.*"—*From the Errata and Emendations to the first Edition.*

† [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 550. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

author hath set down there the several answers that those bishops and divines, that he met with in bishop Stillingfleet's manuscript, made to each question; which I shall not now repeat after him[z]. But I find in a Cotton book a few pages that deserve, (according to my poor judgment), to be transcribed, of something which is not in that history, being the answers of other bishops and divines in the same commission. The first is nameless; but for some reasons I believe him to be the bishop of Durham[b]. Each page consisteth of three columns; the middle column contains the questions. On one side-column is writ his answer to each question; on the other side-column are the king's notes upon the answer, wrote by his own hand. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this. There follow in the Cotton book[c], solutions of each of these questions by another, omitted by the bishop of Sarum in his History. He is nameless also, but appears to have been some popishly affected bishop, but yet one that conversed much with the archbishop, the bishop of St David's[d], and Dr. Cox, and was, I suppose, Thirlby, elect of Westminster: for in many places in the margin of his paper are set the names of those men; for what purpose I do not know, unless to signify their judgments as agreeable with his; though in these very places sometimes their minds and his differ. This man's answer also was perused by the king, who sometimes writ his own objections in the margin. This also I have cast into the Appendix.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 36.[a]

Numb. XXVII.

In the conclusion of this famous consultation upon these seventeen articles concerning the sacraments, (their

Numb. XXVIII. The archbishop's judgment upon these questions

[z] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. part ii. b. iii. No. 21. pp. 314–369. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[a] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 36. British Museum. Original.]

[b] [Cuthbert Tunstal.]

[c] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 38.]

[d] [William Barlow.]

resolutions being drawn up in writing under their own hands), the archbishop, having these discourses given into his hand for the king's use, drew up a summary of each man's judgment; which together with his own he caused to be written fairly out by his secretary, and so presented to the king. The bishop of Sarum hath saved me the trouble of writing them out in this work, having presented them already to the world in his History, from another manuscript than the Cotton book which I make use of, which is a true original. The archbishop's summary may be found among the collections in the said History, against the word *"Agreement"* in the margin, and the archbishop's own judgment against his name in the margin. At the conclusion of his paper, which he sent to the king, he subscribed thus, most warily and modestly, with his own hand;

Vol. i. book 3. Collect xxi. Cleopatra. E. 5.[e]

79 "*T. Cantuarien.* This is mine opinion and sentence at this present; which nevertheless I do not temerariously define, but refer the judgment thereof unto your majesty[f]."

The judgments of other learned men concerning other points.

Besides these seventeen questions, there are in this choice Cottonian manuscript[g] divers others propounded to another combination of bishops and divines, perhaps about this time, or rather, I conceive, three years before, with their answers under their hands thereunto, being

[e] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 53.]

[f] [This passage, with the signature of the archbishop, is in his own handwriting, both in the Cotton and Stillingfleet MSS.]

[g] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 73. "The judgment of abp. Cranmer" upon this subject is extracted from the Cotton MSS. and inserted in the Appendix of this edition. The entire paper will be found in the Appendix to the author's Ecclesiastical Memorials; see also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. Addenda, No. iii. pp. 479, 80.]

called together in order to the composing the book called "*The Institution.*" As, concerning confirmation; Whether this sacrament be a sacrament of the New Testament, instituted by Christ, or not? What is the outward sign, and invisible grace, that is conferred in the same? What promises be made, that the said graces shall be received by this sacrament? The bishop of Sarum hath printed among his Collections[h] the resolutions of the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London[i] to these queries; having taken them out of this manuscript volume which I use. But there be here the opinions of many more, both bishops and other dignitaries of the church: as namely, the archbishop of York[k], the bishops of Ely[l], Rochester[m], Lincoln[n], Bangor[o], and Sarum[p]. Then follows the opinion of the bishop of London, and next of the archbishop of Canterbury. Then come the judgments of Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury[q]; Dr. Barber, archdeacon of Cleveland, and warden of All Souls, Oxon, and one of the convocation in 1562[r]; Dr. Bell, a civilian, employed in the king's business against queen Katherine, archdeacon of Gloucester, and soon after bishop of Worcester[s]; Dr. Wolman, dean of Wells[t]; Dr. Marshall, archdeacon of Nottingham[u]; Dr. Cliff, treasurer of the

[h] [Id. ibid.]

[i] [John Stokesley, who died Sept. 8, in this year, and was succeeded by Edmund Boner, bishop elect of Hereford. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 180.]

[k] [Edward Lee.]

[l] [Thomas Goodrich.]

[m] [John Hilsey.]

[n] [John Longland.]

[o] [John Salcot.]

[p] [Nicholas Shaxton.]

[q] [See above, p. 159.]

[r] [Dr. Warner, (not Barber, who signed "the Institution," see Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 84.) was archdeacon of Cleveland and warden of All Souls'. See below, pp. 207, 8. and Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 329. 492.

[s] [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 298.]

[t] [Archdeacon of Sudbury and afterwards dean of Wells. Id. pp. 36, 224.]

[u] [i. e. Cuthbert Marshall. Id. p. 330.]

church of York[u]; Dr. Edmunds, the same, I suppose, that was master of Peter-house, Cambridge[v]; Dr. Downs, chancellor of the church of York[w]; Dr. Marmaduke, the same probably that was called Marmaduke Waldeby[x]; Dr. Robinson, for Robertson, I suppose, archdeacon of Leicester[y]; Dr. Smith, he probably that was professor of divinity in Oxon[z]; Dr. Buckmaster[z], and another nameless.

And as these learned men treated of this point of confirmation, so, by the various heads and discourses I meet with here, they all gave their judgments of divers other chief points of religion; as "*De fide, De salvatione, De matrimonio, De pœnitentia, De sacramentorum usu,*" and "*De auriculari confessione:*" where is a letter of the king's own writing, in answer to somewhat the bishop of Durham[a] had writ upon that argument. This royal letter the bishop of Sarum hath printed in his History[b]. "*Of priests' marriage*[c];" whereof the king wrote a short dis-

Part i. Addenda to the Collect. No. XI.

[u] [i. e. William Clifton, LL.D. succeeded in May, 1529, and died in 1548. Id. p. 329.]

[v] [Id. p. 420.] [w] [Id. p. 318.]

[x] [Waldeby had been a pupil of Jewel at Oxford. See Strype's Life of archbishop Parker, vol. ii. p. 358. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[y] [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 164.]

[z] [Richard Smith, fellow of Merton college, was the first Regius Professor of Divinity in this university, having been appointed A. D. 1535. He was removed to make way for Peter Martyr, A.D. 1548, and restored A. D. 1554; but resigned A. D. 1556; and was succeeded by John Fraterculus, or de Villa Garcia, who was prominently concerned in the recantations of abp. Cranmer before his death. A. D. 1559, Richard Smith again became professor, but in the following year quitted it, and the nation together, and went to reside at Douay.—Id. p. 471.]

[a] [Cuthbert Tunstal.]

[b] [Cotton MSS. Cleopat. E. v. fol. 123. British Museum. Original, and holograph. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. Addenda No. xi. pp. 547–550.]

[c] [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 124. b.]

course. "*Of pilgrimages*[d]; *Of purgatory*;" of this there is a discourse wrote by Latimer[e]: and after follows another by the king[f]. Latimer's discourse is animadverted upon by the king's pen in the margin; "*De utraque specie.*" Three or four large discourses thereupon in favour of receiving in one kind: one whereof was part of the king's answer to the German ambassadors that were sent hither about a treaty in the years 1538 and 1539[g]. The second is part of an apology, by an English divine, to those German protestants, for communion in one kind, and for private mass[h]. And this latter probably is the 80
bishop of Durham's, because the correction of the paper, (transcribed, as it seems, by his secretary,) here and there, is his own hand.

So that some of these discourses were, I make no doubt, drawn up by the divines for the king's use, in order to his answer to the writing which the German agents the last year had composed before their voyage home[i]. But these papers, some English and some Latin, are so large, that they would too much swell this volume, and entangle the thread of the discourse, if I should here insert them: and therefore I must omit them, and proceed to other matters.

An act to prevent divorces.

In this thirty-second year of the king, by a seasonable law, a stop was put to an evil that now mightily prevailed; namely, the frequency of divorces. For it was ordinary to annul marriages, and divide man and wife from each other, who it may be had lived long together, and had children in wedlock: when, upon any disgust of man or wife, they would withdraw from one another; and so in effect make their children bastards, upon pre-

[d] [Id. fol. 129. b.] [e] [Id. fol. 130.] [f] [Id. fol. 132. b.]
[g] [Id. fol. 209.] [h] [Id. fol. 140.] [i] [Id. fol. 173.]

tence of some pre-contract or affinity, which by the pope's law required a divorce. The king himself took particular care of this act, and there were two rough draughts of it, which I have seen in the Cotton library[j], both which he himself revised diligently, and corrected with his own pen. These divorces the archbishop highly disliked; and might probably have laid before the king the great inconveniences, as well as scandal thereof. It troubled him to see how common these divorces were grown in Germany, and after-marriages, and bigamy. There is a letter of his to Osiander, the German divine, concerning matrimony: in what year written appeareth not; unless perhaps in this year, or the following, now that the king was employing his thoughts about redress of this business. The sum of the letter is to desire Osiander to supply him with an answer to some things that seemed to reflect a fault upon those in Germany that professed the gospel; and that was, that they allowed such as were divorced to marry again, both parties divorced being alive: and that they suffered, without any divorce, a man to have more wives than one. And Osiander had acknowledged as much expressly to Cranmer, in a letter seeming to complain of it, and added, that Philip Melancthon himself was present at one of these marriages of a second wife, the first being alive[k].

The archbishop to Osiander concerning the Germans' abuse of matrimony.

[j] [Id. fol. 103.]

[k] [Melancthon and Bucer were present at the marriage of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who married (March 3, A. D. 1540) Margaret de Sala, during the life-time of his first wife. Seckendorf gives an account of the circumstances connected with this marriage, whilst endeavouring to refute "Antonius de Varillas, in Hist. de Hæres. Lib. xii. ed. Belg. 1687, p. 87," and "Jac. Benignus Bossuetus, de variat. Eccl. Prot. anno 1688. ed. Belg. lib. vi. p. 226," and others.—Comment. Hist. Apol. de Lutheran. lib. iii. sect. 21. § lxxix. Add. (3) pp. 277 et seqq.; see also Fuesslin's Epist. Reformat. pp. 198, 9. ed. Tigur. 1742.]

Indeed if any thing were done among those protestants that seemed not just and fair, to be sure Cranmer should presently be twitted in the teeth for it. And then he was fain to make the best answers he could, either out of their books, or out of his own invention. And he was always asked about the affairs in those parts. And sometimes he was forced to confess some things, and be ready to blush at them, (such a concern had he for Germany,) as concerning their allowance of usury, and of concubines to their noblemen: as he wrote to the said German. But I will not longer detain the reader from perusing the excellent learned letter of the archbishop, which he may find in the Appendix, concerning this subject. No. XXIX.

81

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LARGEST BIBLE PRINTED.

Some account of printing the English Bible.

THE largest English Bible coming forth in print this year, wherein our archbishop, out of his zeal to God's glory, had so great an influence, I shall here take occasion to give some account of the translation of, as well as I can; there having been no exact story thereof any where given as I know of.

New Testament printed in 1526.

The first time the holy Scripture was printed in English, (for written copies thereof, of Wickliff's translation, there were long before and many), was about the year 1526. And that was only the New Testament translated by Tindal, assisted by Joy and Constantine, and printed in some foreign parts, I suppose at Hamburgh or Antwerp. For in this year I find that cardinal Wolsey and the bishops consulted together for the prohibiting the New Testament of Tindal's translation to be read[l]. And Tonstal bishop of London issued out his commission to his archdeacons for calling in the New Testament. This year also Tonstal and sir Thomas More bought up almost the whole impression, and burnt them at Paul's Cross. I think it was this first edition that Garret, alias Garrerd, curate of Hony-lane[m], afterwards burnt for heresy, dispersed in London and Oxford[n].

And burnt. Foxe's Acts, p. 929.

[l] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1017. et sqq.]

[m] "[A narrow lane in Cheapside nearly opposite Bow Church, of which Robert Forman, S.T.P. was rector, and Thomas Garret, curate."—See Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. p. 92.]

[n] [Id. vol. i. pp. 91-95. See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1194. et sqq. and abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 310, 376. Park. Soc. ed.]

Soon after Tindal revised his translation of the New Testament, and corrected it, and caused it again to be printed about the year 1530. The books finished were privily sent over to Tindal's brother, John Tindal, and Thomas Patmore, merchants, and another young man; who received them and dispersed them. For which having been taken up by the bishop of London[o], they were adjudged in the Star-Chamber, sir Thomas More being then lord chancellor, to ride with their faces to the horse-tail, having papers on their heads and the New Testaments and other books, (which they dispersed), to be fastened thick about them, pinned or tacked to their gowns or cloaks, and at the standard in Cheap themselves to throw them into the fire made for that purpose; and then to be fined at the king's pleasure. Which penance they observed. The fine set upon them was heavy enough, viz. eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence: as was extant to be seen in the records of the Star-Chamber.

Reprinted about 1530.

Burnt again.

Anno 1531, the bishops came into the Star-Chamber, and communing with the king's counsel, and alleging that this Testament was not truly translated, and that in it were prologues and prefaces of heresy and raillery against bishops; upon this complaint the Testament, and other such like books, were prohibited. But the king gave commandment to the bishops at the same time, that they, calling to them the best learned out of the Universities, should cause a new translation to be made; so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. But the bishops did nothing in obedience to this commandment[p].

The scripture prohibited, in a meeting at the Star-Chamber.

[o] [John Stokesley.]

[p] ["In the beginning of this year, which we are now about, [A. D. 1531.] through the complaint of the clergy made to the king, the translation of the New Testament,

New Testaments burnt the third time. Foxe, p. 937.

The same year, viz. 1531, in the month of May, Stokesly, bishop of London, (as Tonstal, his predecessor, had done
82 four or five years before), caused all the New Testaments of Tindal, and many other books which he had bought up, to be brought to Paul's church-yard, and there openly burnt[q].

with a great number of other books, were forbidden. For the bishops coming into Star Chamber the 25th day of May, and communing with the king's council, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the translation of Tindal and Joy were not truly translated, and moreover that in them were prologues and prefaces, that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops, wherefore all such books were prohibited, and commandment given by the king to the bishops, that they calling to them the best learned men of the universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tindal's translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1027. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[q] ["This year also, in the month of May, the bishop of London caused all the New Testaments of Tindal's translation, and many other books which he had bought, to be brought unto Paul's Churchyard, and there openly to be burned." Id. ibid. "Strype and several other writers erroneously have ascribed this burning of books to Stokesly, as he was then bishop of London elect, but all this was Tunstal's doing alone. Stokesly was then in Italy...Tunstal had been translated to Durham, by a bull dated 18th Feb. 1530, and confirmed to that see on the 25th of March.—Rymer, [vol.] xiv. p. 364.—In June he was at Bologna, very busy in Henry's service, and there is a dispatch from him, as late as 23rd of September, [Lord] Herbert, [Life of Hen. VIII.] p. 329. [ed. Lond. 1672.] Probably he did not arrive in England for some time after this, as he was not installed bishop of London till the 20th of December. Wood's Fasti, [vol. ii. col. 35. ed. Bliss. 1813–20.] And hence it is, that when he consigned Bayfield to the flames, [see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1024.], on the 20th of Nov. 1531, he dates it [i.e. the letter of requiry of the previous day directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London] the first year of our

In the year 1537, the Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, called Mathews' Bible, of Tindal's and Rogers' translation, was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch at Hamburgh, to the number of fifteen hundred copies. Which book obtained then so much favour of the king, by Crumwel's and Canterbury's means, that the king enjoined it to be had by all curates, and set up in all parish churches throughout the realm. It was done by one John Rogers, who flourished a great while in Germany, and was superintendent of a church there; being afterwards a prebend of St. Paul's, and the first martyr in queen Mary's days. He is said by my author to have translated the Bible into English from Genesis to the end of the Revelations, making use of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English [that is, Tindal's] copies. He added prefaces, and notes out of Luther; and dedicated the whole book to king Henry, under the name of Thomas Mathews, by an epistle prefixed; minding to conceal his own name[r]. Grafton, and the rest of the merchants concerned in the work, thinking that they had not stock enough to supply all the nation, and this book being of a volume not large enough, and considering the

The whole Bible printed 1537.

Mathews', that is, Rogers' Bible.

Balæi Centur.

consecration."—See Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. p. 263. n. 25. See also Le Neve's Fasti, p. 180. ed. Lond. 1614, in which it is stated, that John Stokesley had the temporalities of the see of London delivered to him July 14th 1530, and was consecrated the 27th of Nov. following, and died Sept. 8. 1539.]

[r] ["Grande bibliorum opus, Tindalum secutus, a vertice ad calcem, a primo Geneseos ad ultimum Apocalypseos vocabulum, perlustratis Hebræorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, Germanorum, et Anglorum exemplaribus, fidelissime in idioma vulgare transtulit. Quod opus laboriosum, excellens, salubre, pium, ac sanctissimum, adjunctis ex Martino Luthero præfationibus, et annotationibus utilissimis, Henrico octavo Anglorum regi, sub nomine Thomæ Matheuii, epistola præfixa, dedicavit."—Bale, Script. Illust. Catal. p. 676. ed. Basil. 1559.]

prologues and marginal notes gave offence to some, and being put on by those that favoured the gospel, that as many as possible could be might be printed, for the dispersing the knowledge of Christ and his truth; they resolved to imprint it again, which they intended should be of a larger volume than any before: and therefore it was called, when it came forth, "*The Bible in the largest volume.*" They intended also, in order to this edition, to have the former translation revised, and to omit several prologues and annotations. And Miles Coverdale was the man now that compared the translation with the Hebrew, and mended it in divers places, and was the chief overseer of the work. But though they left out Mathews', that is, Rogers' notes, yet they resolved to make hands and marks on the sides of the book; which meant, that they would have particular notice to be taken of those places, being such texts as did more especially strike at the errors and abuses of the Romish church[s].

About 1538, the Bible printing again in Paris.

Grafton resolved to print this Bible in Paris, if he could obtain leave, there being better paper and cheaper to be had in France, and more dexterous workmen. For this purpose the lord Crumwel, who stood by him in this enterprise, procured letters of the king, as Foxe relates, to Francis the French king, which were conveyed to Boner, then ambassador at that court, for him to present them to that king. The contents of which letters of king Henry were to this effect; "For a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English in his dominion, both in regard of his paper and workmen." The king at the same time wrote to his said ambassador to aid and assist the undertakers of this good work in all their reasonable suits. Boner did only present this letter to Francis, and obtained

[s] [See Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. sec. xiv. p. 551. et sqq.]

with good words the license desired, but he shewed great friendship to the merchants and printers, and so encouraged them, that the work went on with good speed and 83
success. And to shew how well affected he was now to the holy Bible, he caused the English there in Paris to print the New Testament in English and Latin, and took off a great many of them himself, and distributed them to his friends[t]. But the principle that moved Boner in all this was, that he might the better curry favour with Crumwel, and recommend himself to him, who, being the great favourite now with the king, was the fittest in-

Foxe, p. 1086.

[t] ["About the time and year, when Edmund Boner, bishop of Hereford, and ambassador resident in France, began first to be nominate, and preferred by the means of the lord Crumwel to the bishopric of London, which was, anno 1540, it happened that the said Thomas, lord Crumwel and earl of Essex, procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king to permit and license a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the university of Paris, because paper was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the ready dispatch of the same. And in like manner at the same time the said king wrote unto his ambassador, who then was Edmund Boner, bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should aid, and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits. The which bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same, and moreover did divers and sundry times call and command the said persons to be in manner daily at his table both dinner and supper, and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bible, that he himself would visit the imprinter's house, where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little weighed. And further, the said Boner was so fervent that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a new Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends." Foxe's Acts and Monuments; p. 1191. ed. Lond. 1583.]

strument for his rise[u]. The letters patents that Boner procured of the French king for the printing this Bible
No. XXX. may be seen in the Appendix: wherein indeed I do not find any specification of king Henry's letters to Francis, but only mention made that he had sufficient testimony that the said Henry had allowed them to print the Bible as well in Latin as English, and, being finished, to bring the impression safely over.

The printers fall into the inquisition.

But notwithstanding this royal license, such was the overswaying authority of the inquisition in Paris, that the printers were had up into the said inquisition. For in the year 1538, there was an instrument dated December the 17th, coming from Henry Garvais, S. Th. D. prior of the convent of the Friars Preachers, Paris, and vicar-general of the venerable father friar Matthew Ory, of the same order, and D. D. inquisitor-general of heretical pravity in the whole kingdom of France, by apostolical and regal au-
Cleopatra E. 5. thority especially deputed: setting forth, "That since from the translation of the sacred Scriptures, as well of the Old Testament as New, into the mother-tongue, which cometh to the hands of the simple, it is found in these last days that some have taken occasion of error in the faith; and that it is provided by edicts of the supreme court of parliament, that none should print the Old and

[u] ["And so long as Crumwel remained in authority, so long was Boner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies: as namely at that time to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Crumwel, and therefore Boner could not favour him, but that he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might be. But so soon as Crumwel fell, immediately Boner and Winchester pretended to be the greatest men that lived, and no good word could Boner speak of Crumwel, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived: and then such as the said Boner knew to be in good favour with Crumwel, he could never abide their sight."—Id. p. 1192.]

New Testament in his mother-tongue, or sell it being printed; and that it was known to him, that one Francis Regnault, a bookseller of the city of Paris in those days, did print the Bible in the vulgar Britannic, or English language; by reason of which, scandals and errors might arise in the church: therefore he gave out his order to all priests, vicars, curates, &c. to cite the said F. Regnault, and all other that it might concern, to answer, &c. And to inhibit them under canonical pains to imprint the said Bible, nor to make away, or conceal from him or his possession, the sheets that are already printed, unless they were seen by him, and otherwise appointed. Dated at Paris under the seal used in such cases, and the sign manual of the notary public, or sworn scribe of the said holy inquisition.

"Le Tellier[v]."

The Bible printed with French presses in London.

But before this happened, they were gone through even to the last part of the work. And then great troubles arose: the printer was sent for by the inquisitors, and charged with certain articles of heresy: and the Englishmen likewise that were at the cost and charges hereof, and the corrector Coverdale. Therefore finding it not safe to tarry any longer, they fled away as fast as they could, leaving behind them all their Bibles, the impression consisting of five and twenty hundred in number; which were seized. And if you would know what was done with them, the lieutenant-criminal caused them to be burnt in Maubert-place, as heretical books. Only a few escaped, the lieutenant selling them for waste paper to a haberdasher, being about four dry-fats full. But however,

84 The English Bible burnt the fourth time.

[v] [The original document, of which the above is a translation, is preserved in the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 326. British Museum.]

not long after, the English that were concerned in this work, by the encouragement of Crumwel, went back to Paris again, and got the presses, letters, and printing-servants, and brought them over to London, and so became printers themselves, which before they never intended. And so at length in this year 1540 they successfully printed off the Bible of the largest volume: and after that there were sundry other impressions also[w].

[w] ["Now after that the foresaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well content to permit the doing thereof. And so the printer went forward, and printed forth the book even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked to the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors of the faith, and there charged with certain articles of heresy. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Myles Coverdale, but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of 2500, called the Bibles of the great volume, and never recovered any of them, saving that the lieutenant-criminal having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of Paris, (like Smithfield), called Maubert place*, was somewhat moved with covetousness, and sold four great dry fats of them to a haberdasher to lap in caps, and those were bought again, but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate loss of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said loss after they had recovered some part of the foresaid books, and were comforted and encouraged by the lord Crumwel, the said Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the aforesaid printer, and brought them to London, and there they became printers themselves, (which before they never intended), and printed out the said Bible in London, and after that printed sundry impressions of them: but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the bishops, namely, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, who mightily did stomach and malign the printing thereof." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1191. See also Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. sec. i. pp. 22. et sqq.]

* Place de Maubert, immediately adjoining to Rue des Anglais.

To this impression of the Bible, that came forth in these troublesome times, and through extraordinary opposition, the king gave countenance, commanding the buying and setting it up. For as it had been printed about three years before; and Crumwel, the king's vicar-general, in his injunctions in the king's name, had ordered all incumbents of livings to provide one, and to set it up publicly in their churches[x]: so this year the king, by his proclamation in the month of May, did again command, that this Bible of the largest volume should be provided by the curates and parishioners of every parish, and set up in their churches. For as yet, notwithstanding the first injunctions, many parishes in the realm were destitute of them: whether it were by reason of the unwillingness of the priests to have the English Bible, or the people to be any ways acquainted with it, for fear it should make them heretics as their curates told them. He stinted also the time, namely, that it should be every where provided before All-saints day next coming, and that upon a penalty of forty shillings a month after the said feast that they should be without it. The said proclamation also set the price at ten shillings a book unbound; and well bound and clasped, not above twelve shillings: and charged all ordinaries to take care for the seeing this command of the king the better executed[y].

The largest Bible published in the year 1540.

[x] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. part ii. B. iii. No. 7. p. 254. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[y] [In this "proclamation" (Regist. Bonner. fol. 21) "ordained by the king's majesty, with the advice of his honourable council, for the Bible of the largest and greatest volume to be had in every church, devised the sixth day of May, the 33rd year (A. D. 1541.) of the king's most gracious reign," it was ordained and commanded, that "by the injunctions heretofore set forth by the authority of the king's royal majesty, supreme head of the church of this his realm of England—the king's royal majesty intended that his loving subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles—humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them should read the said Bibles

Boner's admonitions for reading the Bible.

And upon this, Boner, being now newly bishop of London[z], set up six Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's church; together with an admonition to the readers, fastened upon the pillars to which the Bibles were chained, to this tenor: "That whosoever came there to read should prepare himself to be edified and made the better thereby. That he should join thereunto his readiness to obey the king's injunctions made in that behalf. That he bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour. That there should no such number meet together there as to make a multitude. That no exposition be made thereupon, but

with high and loud voices, in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the church; or that any his lay subjects reading the same should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained, but that every such layman should humbly, meekly, and reverently read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his life, according to God's holy word therein mentioned."—And because "many towns and parishes had neglected their duties in the accomplishment thereof," — the king "minding the execution of his former most godly and gracious injunctions, straitly charged and commanded that curates and parishioners, of every town and parish within this his realm of England, not having already Bibles provided within their parish churches, should on this side the feast of All-saints next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest volume, and cause the same to be set and fixed in every of the said parish churches,—and should lose and forfeit to the king's majesty, for every month that they should lack and want the said Bibles after the same feast of All-saints 40*s*.," one half to the king, and "the other half to him or them, who should first find and present the same to the ...council;—and ordained and taxed that the sellers of the said Bibles should not take for any unbound more than ten shillings, and for every one well and sufficiently bound, trimmed, and clasped, not above twelve shillings, upon the pain of loss to the seller of four shillings for every Bible thus sold, one moiety to go to the king, and the other to the finder and presenter of the defaulter; &c." Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. part ii. B. iii. No. 24. pp. 378, 9.

[z] [See p. 177. n. i.]

what is declared in the book itself. That it be not read with noise in time of divine service: or that any disputation or contention be used at it[a]."

But it was not much above two years after that the popish bishops obtained of the king the suppression of the Bible again. For after they had taken off the lord Crumwel, they made great complaint to the king (their old complaint) of the translation, and of the prefaces, whereas indeed and in truth it was the text itself, rather than the prefaces or translation, that disturbed them. 85 Whereupon it was forbid again to be sold, the bishops promising the king to amend and correct it, but never performed it. And Grafton was now, so long after, summoned and charged with printing Mathew's Bible: which he, being timorous, made excuses for. Then he was examined about the great Bible, and what the notes were he intended to set thereto. He replied, that he added none to his Bible, when he perceived the king and the clergy not willing to have any. Yet Grafton was

The Bible suppressed again, an. 1543.

[a] [In the "admonition and advertisement given (A. D. 1542) by Bonner bishop of London," (Regist Bonner), "to all readers of this Bible in the English tongue," it was also advised, "that no number of people be specially congregate therefore to make a multitude; and that no exposition be made thereupon, otherwise than it is declared by the book itself; and that especially regard be had, no reading thereof be used, allowed, and with noise in the time of any divine service or sermon; or that in the same be used any disputation, contention, or any other misdemeanour*." Id. vol. i. part ii. b. iii. No. 25. pp. 380, 1. See abp. Cranmer's Preface to the Bible; Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. pp. 118–125.]

* ["Such *public* reading had been enjoyed three years before. First by Crumwel in 1538, then by Henry in May 1540, and now by Boner in 1541, though he very soon not only changed his mind, and bitterly quarrelled with such reading whether in public or private, but persecuted to the death, when the fury and folly of Henry once permitted. See Burnet's Records. [vol. i. part ii.] b. iii. No. 25. compared with No. 11. and [Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. v. fol. 337." Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. p. 144. n. 18.]

sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks; and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he should neither sell nor imprint any more Bibles till the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And they procured an order from the king that the false translation of Tindal, as they called it, should not be uttered either by printer or bookseller; and no other books to be retained that spoke against the sacrament of the altar: no annotations or preambles to be in Bibles or New Testaments in English, (that so they might keep Scripture still as obscure as they could): nor the Bible to be read in the church, and nothing to be taught contrary to the king's instructions. And from henceforth the Bible was stopped during the remainder of king Henry's reign[b].

King Henry's judgment for the use of the Bible.

But however, for some certain ends, the king restrained now and then the use of the Scriptures, to comply with

[b] ["After this, the bishops, bringing their purpose to pass, brought the lord Crumwel out of favor, and shortly to his death: and not long after great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same, (i. e. Cranmer's), and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be staid, the bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Mathews' Bible, but he, being fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make. To the which he answered that he knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the notes, but when he perceived the king's majesty and his clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he came out was bound in £300 that he should neither sell, nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time staid, during the reign of king Henry the VIII." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1191, 2. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. sec. vi. pp. 155. et sqq.]

the importunate suits of the popish bishops; yet his judgment always was for the free use of them among his subjects, and (in order to that) for the translating and printing them. For proof of which, I will recite the words of the translator of Erasmus' Paraphrase upon St. Luke, in his preface thereunto, viz. Nic. Udal, a man of eminency in those days, a canon of Windsor, and a servant unto queen Katherine, the king's last wife: "His most excellent majesty, from the first day that he wore the imperial crown of this realm, foresaw that, to the executing the premises, [viz. to destroy counterfeit religions, and to root up all idolatry done to dead images], it was necessary that his people should be reduced to the sincerity of Christ's religion by knowing of God's word. He considered, that requisite it was his subjects were noused in Christ by reading the Scriptures, whose knowledge should easily induce them to the clear espying of all the sleights of the Romish juggling. And therefore, as soon as might be, his highness, by most wholesome and godly laws, provided that it might be lawful for all his most faithful loving subjects to read the word of God, and the rules of Christ's discipline, which they professed. He provided that the Holy Bible should be set forth in our own vulgar language, to the end that England might the better attain to the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, which they might draw out of the clear fountain and spring of the gospel[c]."

[c Translation of Erasmus' paraphrase upon Luke: preface dedicated to queen Katherine, fol. iii. b. ed. London. 1548.]

86

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ARCHBISHOP RETIRED.

The archbishop keeps himself more retired.

Our archbishop, after the unhappy death of the lord Crumwel, so excellent an instrument in correcting the abuses of religion, out of sorrow and care of himself, betook himself to more retirement, and greater privacy. For in and after this year 1540, I find nothing in his register, but the acts of confirmations, and elections, and consecrations of bishops, as bishoprics fell vacant; the archbishop very seldom consecrating any himself, but commissionating others by his letters to confirm and consecrate: and nothing to be found a great way on in the register concerning giving ordinances and injunctions to the diocese or province. And no wonder, for there was now no vicegerent in ecclesiasticals to be ready to hearken to the archbishop's directions and counsels for reforming abuses, and to see them executed in the church. And his own sorrows, and the troubles he met with in these times from his enemies, made him judge it convenient for him now more warily to conceal himself till better days.

The archbishop issues out his commission for the consecrating of Boner.

But before the death of Crumwel, when Boner bishop elect of London, was to be consecrated, the archbishop probably not liking him, and seeing through him, whatever his pretences were; and therefore declining to have any hand in his preferment; sent his commission in April to Stephen bishop of Winchester[d], Richard bishop of Chichester[e], Robert bishop of St. Asaph[f], and John bishop of Hertford, [i. e. Hereford][g], to consecrate

[d] [Stephen Gardiner.] [e] [Richard Sampson.] [f] [Robert Warton.] [g] [John Skyp.]

him. Which, it is said in the register, they did accordingly, *per sacri chrismatis unctionem, et manuum suarum impositionem.* In this consecration, the prior and chapter of Canterbury insisted, it seems, upon an ancient privilege of their church, which I do not find in this register they had at other consecrations done; namely, that the consecration should be celebrated at the church of Canterbury, and at no other church or oratory, without their allowance. And so, in a formal instrument, they gave their license and consent, directed to the archbishop, to proceed to the consecration elsewhere. The letter is from Thomas the prior, and the chapter of Canterbury; and it ran thus:

Licet antiquitus fuerit salubriter ordinatum, hactenusque in et per totam vestram provinciam Cantuar' inconcusse observatum, quod quilibet suffraganeus ecclesiæ vestræ metropoliticæ Christi Cantuar' memoratæ in ecclesia vestra metropolit' Cantuar' et non alibi, partialiter consecrari et benedici debeat, &c. "Yet they gave their consent that he might be consecrated in any other oratory: but yet so that neither they nor the church received any prejudice, and reserving to themselves a decent cope, as every suffragan of the church of Canterbury, according as his profession was, ought to give to the same church by right and ancient custom; and the rights, liberties, privileges, and other customs of the said church always, and in all things, being safe." The renewing of this their old pretended privilege looked like some check to the archbishop, and as though they required of him a sort of dependence on them now more than before: and it shewed some secret ill-will towards him, which brake out more openly not long after, as we shall shew in the process of our story. Cranm. Regist. 87

In the register is also recorded Boner's oath of fidelity Boner's oath of fidelity.

to the king against the bishop of Rome: which I will add here, that men may see with what little affection to the pope this man was let into the bishopric, which he afterwards made so much use of for him and his usurpations: though thereby he stands upon record for ever for perjury. But the oath was this:

"Ye shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power, within this realm, or any other the king's dominions, but that ye shall resist the same at all times to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, &c. So help you God, and all saints, and the holy evangelists."

Signed thus,

+ *In fidem præmissorum Ego* Edm. Boner *Elect. et Confirmat.* Londoniens. *huic præsenti chartæ subscripsi.*

The archbishop makes a commissary in Calais.

By the archbishop's letters, bearing date May 20, he made Robert Harvey, B. LL. his commissary in Calais, and in all the other neighbouring places in France, being his diocese. A man surely wherein the good archbishop was mistaken, or else he would never have ventured to set such a substitute, of such bigoted cruel principles, in that place. This Harvey condemned a poor labouring man of Calais, who said he would never believe that any priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was accused before the commissary, who roundly condemned him to be burnt, inveighing against him, and saying, he was an heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man said, he should die a viler shortly. And so

Foxe, p. 1120.

it came to pass; for half a year after, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason[h].

Butler a better commissary.

He seemed to have succeeded in the room of a man of better principles, called sir John Butler: who was deprived of his commissaryship by some bishops, commissioners from the king for the examining several persons suspect of religion in Calais. The council there had, about the year 1539, complained of him as a maintainer of Damplip, a learned and pious preacher there. So he was sent for into England, and charged to favour Damplip, because he preached so long there, and was not restrained nor punished by him. He answered warily and prudently, that the lord Lisle, lord deputy, and his council, entertained and friendly used him, and countenanced him by hearing him preach; so that he could not do otherwise than he did. After long attendance upon the king's commissioners, he was discharged, and returned home, but discharged also of his commissary's place too[i].

[h] ["By the credible information and writing of the said Calais men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of Calais, who, after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in certain company, said, that he would never believe that a priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Harvey, commissary there; which Harvey, in time of his judgment, inveighing against him with opprobrious words, said, that he was an heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man, (whose name I have not yet certainly learned), answering for himself again, said, that he was no heretic, but was in the faith of Christ. And whereas thou sayest, (said he), that I shall die a vile death, thou thyself shalt die a viler death, and that shortly: and so it came to pass; for, within half a year after, the said Harvey was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason in the said town of Calais." — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1229. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[i] ["1539. The x. of Awgust, the xxxi. of Henry the Eighth,

88 And having been an officer of the archbishop's, I will add a word or two more concerning him. About the year 1536, he was apprehended in Calais, and bound by sureties not to pass the gates of that town, upon the accusation of two soldiers, that he should have said, in contempt of the corporal presence, that "if the sacrament of the altar be flesh, blood, and bone, then there is good aqua vitæ at John Spicer's:" where probably was very bad. This Butler, and one Smith, were soon after brought by pursuivants into England; and there brought before the privy-council in the Star-chamber for sedition and heresy, (which were charges ordinarily laid against the professors of the gospel in those times), and thence sent to the Fleet: and brought soon after to Bath-place, there sitting Clark, bishop of Bath, Sampson, bishop of Chichester, and Reps, bishop of Norwich, the king's commissioners[j].

His troubles.

And no wonder he met with these troubles: for he had raised up the hatred of the friars of Calais against him by being a discoverer and destroyer of one of their gross religious cheats. There had been great talk of a miracle in St. Nicholas church, for the conviction of men, that the wafer, after consecration, was indeed turned into the

The occasion thereof the discovery of a religious cheat.

ser John Butlar, priest, comyssary of Caleis and marches there, and Thomas Broke, chefe clerke of the excheqwere, and customar of the towne of Calles, were sent to the Flete." "The crime of this person was, it appears, of a religious complexion. At a privy council held at Windsor, 7th Nov. 1540, "lettres were browght from the depute and counsail of Calais, declaring that sir [John] Butler, prist, sone and heyre unto the lady Banestre, late decessed, was endited for a sacramentary," &c. — Chronicle of Calais, pp. 47, 180. Camden Soc. ed. 1846; see also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1226, and abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. p. 391.]

[j] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1226.]

body, flesh, and bones of Christ. For in a tomb in that church, representing the sepulchre, there were lying upon a marble stone three hosts sprinkled with blood, and a bone representing some miracle. This miracle was in writing, with a pope's bull of pardon annexed, to those, I suppose, that should visit that church. There was also a picture of the resurrection, bearing some relation to this miracle. This picture and story Damplip freely spake against in one of his sermons, saying, that "it was but an illusion of the French before Calais was English." Upon this sermon, (the king also having ordered the taking away all superstitious shrines), there came a commission to the lord deputy of Calais, to this sir John Butler, the archbishop's commissary, and one or two more, that they should search whether this were true; and if they found it not so, that immediately the shrine should be plucked down; and so it was. For breaking up a stone in the corner of the tomb, instead of the three hosts, the blood and the bone, they found soldered in the cross of marble lying under the sepulchre three plain white counters, which they had painted like unto hosts, and a bone, that is in the tip of a sheep's tail. This Damplip shewed the next day, being Sunday, unto the people; and after that, they were sent to the king by the lord deputy. But this so angered the friars and their creatures, that it cost Damplip his life, and commissary Butler much trouble, and the loss of his office[k].

Glazier commissary in Calais.

After Harvey, Hugh Glazier, B. D. and canon of Christ's Church, Canterbury, succeeded in the office of commissary to the archbishop for Calais. He was once a friar, but afterwards favoured the reformation. He

[k] [Id. p. 1224.]

was put up to preach at Paul's Cross the first Lent after king Edward came to the crown: and then asserted the observation of Lent to be but of human institution.

Archbishop's judgment of admission of scholars into the school belonging to the cathedral.

89 This year the cathedral church of Canterbury was altered from monks to secular men of the clergy, viz. prebendaries, or canons, petty-canons, choristers, and scholars[1]. At this erection were present Thomas Cranmer, archbishop; the lord Rich, chancellor of the court of the augmentation of the revenues of the crown; sir Christopher Hales, knight, the king's attorney; sir Anthony Sentleger, knight; with divers other commissioners. And nominating and electing such convenient and fit persons, as should serve for the furniture of the said cathedral church, according to the new foundation, it came to pass, that when they should elect the children of the grammar-school, there were of the commissioners more than one or two, who would have none admitted but sons or younger brethren of gentlemen. As for other husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort. So that they wished none else to be put to school, but only gentlemen's children. Whereunto the most reverend father, the archbishop, being of a contrary mind, said, "That he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter: for," said he, "poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God,

Foxii MSS.[m]

[1] [A letter from the archbishop to Crumwel upon this matter is inserted in the Appendix of this edition from Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 312. British Museum. Original; which has also been given in Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. pt. ii. b. iii. No. 65. pp. 213–216. ed. Oxon. 1829; see also abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. pp. 396, 7.]

[m] [Harl. MSS. 419. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 115. British Museum. Original.]

as with eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and also commonly more apt to apply[n] their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated." Hereunto it was on the other part replied, "That it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation; and the gentleman's children are meet to have the knowledge of government, and rule in the commonwealth. For we have," said they, "as much need of ploughmen as any other state: and all sorts of men may not go to school." "I grant," replied the archbishop, "much of your meaning herein as needful in a commonwealth: but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son, and the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, as well as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor nowhere else, but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will and pleasure: who giveth his gifts both of learning, and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof as those that took upon them to build the tower of Babel[o]: for God would so provide, that the offspring

[n] ["More given to apply," Harl. MSS.]

[o] ["Tower of Babelon," Harl. MSS.]

of our best-born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn, and very dolts, as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull, and without all manner of capacity. And to say the truth, I take it, that none of us all here being gentlemen born, (as I think), but had our beginning that way, from a low and base parentage: and through the benefit of learning, and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen ascend to their estate." Then it was again
90 answered, "That the most part of the nobility came up by feats of arms, and martial acts." "As though," said the archbishop[p], "that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically: who rather that way is brought unto authority, than else his manly looks. To conclude, the poor man's son, by pains-taking, will for the most part be learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures, that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill, and setteth him in high authority. And whensoever it pleaseth him of his divine providence, he deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room." With words to the like effect. Such a seasonable patron of poor men was the archbishop.

BISHOPS CONSECRATED.

Edmond Boner. Nicholas Hethe.

April the 4th, Edmond Boner, LL. D. bishop of Hereford, consecrated bishop of London, and Nicholas Hethe, consecrated bishop of Rochester, in a chapel in St. Paul's,

[p] ["Quoth the archbishop," Harl. MSS.]

on the north side of the nave, by Stephen, bishop of Winton[q], assisted by Richard, bishop of Chichester, Robert, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, bishop of Hereford; by virtue of commissional letters from the archbishop. Cranm. Regist.

December the 29th, Thomas Thirlby[r], consecrated the first bishop of Westminster in St. Saviour's chapel, near the sepulchre of Henry VIII. in the church of Westminster, by the bishop of London[s]; assisted by Nicholas, bishop of Rochester[t], and John, suffragan of Bedford, by letters commissional from the archbishop. Thomas Thirlby.

Dr. Butt's, the king's physician, first moved him to take Dr. Thirlby into his service; for that the said Thirlby was accounted a favourer of all such as favoured sincere religion. The archbishop soon became acquainted with him, and liked his learning and his qualities so well, that he became his good lord towards the king's majesty, and commended him to him, to be a man worthy to serve a prince, for such singular qualities as were in him. And indeed the king soon employed him in embassies in France and elsewhere; so that he grew in the king's favour by the means of the archbishop; who had a very extraordinary love for him, and thought nothing too much to give him, or to do for him. And we may conclude it was by his means that, after the dissolution of the bishopric of Westminster, he was preferred to Norwich, in the year 1550. He complied with king Edward's Some account of Thirlby's rise.

[q] [See above, p. 196.]

[r] [Thomas Thirlby was the first and last bishop of Westminster, and having sat in that see ten years, was translated to Norwich, April 1, 1550; to Ely, Sep. 15, 1554. See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 70, 211, 363.]

[s] [Edmund Boner.]

[t] [Nicholas Heathe, afterwards translated to Worcester and York. See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 250, 298, 310.]

proceedings all his reign; and so he did with queen Mary's during hers, being then translated to Ely: and was then made use of to be one of the bishops, (Boner being the other), that were sent to Oxon to degrade the archbishop, which he did with tears[u]. If this bishop "did not, to his uttermost endeavour, practise to save the archbishop's life, he not only did him much wrong, but also abused his singular benevolence with overmuch ingratitude." I use the words of Morice, the archbishop's secretary, as though he suspected he did not[v].

In a letter to Day the printer, an. 1565.

[u] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1881–1883. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[v] ["Raphe Morice to Mr. Day, the printer of the Acts and Monuments, concerning matters relating to abp. Cranmer, to whom he was secretary. An. 1565." —Harl. MSS. 416. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 183. British Museum. Original.]

CHAPTER XXIII. 91

ALL SOULS' COLLEGE VISITED.

The archbishop visits All Souls' College.

The following year, the college of All Souls, Oxon, underwent the archbishop's visitation, by virtue of a commission, May 12th, to John Cocks[w], the archbishop's vicar-general in spirituals, John Rokesby, LL.D. of the arches, Walter Wright, LL.D. public notary, and John Warner, M. D. warden of the college. This visitation was occasioned upon a complaint of the very ill and loose behaviour of the members of that house. The college grew scandalous for their factions, dissensions, and combinations one against another; for their compotations, ingurgitations, surfeitings, drunkennesses, enormous and excessive comessations. They kept boys in the college, under pretence of poor scholars. They entered not into orders, and became not priests after they were masters of art: nor observed their times of disputations. Their habit and apparel was gaudy. And other things there were among them contrary to the statutes of the college. This visitation was prorogued, and all the visitors were reduced to one, viz. Dr. Wright. And in conclusion the archbishop gave them a set of injunctions, declarations, and interpretations of their statutes, to the number of four and twenty. One was for the better frequenting chapel, and singing the service. Another for the residence of the warden, not to be absent above sixty days in a year. The rest were, to observe, at the dean's command, the solemn times of disputation. That such bachelors of arts that were fellows should take

Abp. Cranm. Regist.

[w] [See Wood's Fasti, Oxon. vol. ii. pt. i. App. p. 19. ed. Bliss 1813–20.]

their degrees of masters of arts, when they were standing for it. That several of them being masters of arts, should take priests' orders. That the master and the rest, fellows and scholars, should wear long gowns to their heels, plain shirts, and not gathered about the neck and arms, and adorned with silk; and the rest should wear decent garments. Concerning keeping boys, beside such as were servants; that if any of the fellows, scholars, or servants of the college, shall keep any poor scholars, boy, or youth, to lodge with him in his chamber, or within the college, to nourish him with the fragments of the college, after such a day, that he be then admonished by the warden, or sub-warden, &c. and such boys to be expelled the college.

Visits it a second time.

But it seems this visitation did not effect the good ends intended by it: for not long after another commission for the visitation of this college was given by the archbishop to John Barber, LL.D. official of his court of Canterbury[x].

The archbishop gives order about shrines.

In the month of October, there issued out the king's letters to our archbishop for taking away superstitious shrines. Which I suppose the archbishop himself procured[y], having complained to the king how little effect

[x] [See above, p. 93.]

[y] [In a letter addressed to Crumwel, preserved in the State Paper Office, (Miscel. Lett. temp. Hen. VIII. third series, vol. ix.) and dated Aug. 18th, [1538.] the archbishop made the following application to him respecting this matter: —"Farther, by cause that I have in great suspect that St. Thomas of Canterbury his blood, in Christ's church in Canterbury, is but a feigned thing and made of some red ochre or of such like matter; I beseech your lordship that Dr. Lee and Dr. Barbor, my chaplains, may have the king's commission to try and examine that and all other like things there. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well, praying you to give farther credence unto this bearer. At Lambeth the 18th day of August." —"As for shrines, copses, and

former orders from his majesty had taken, (and particularly in his own church), for the images and bones of supposed saints, with all the monuments of their pretended miracles, to be taken away and defaced: and how his injunctions were illuded, which commanded, that 92
there should be no offerings nor setting up candles to them in any church, and specially in the cathedral church of Canterbury; which once before had been scoured of these superstitions, when Thomas a Becket's tomb, and the

reliquiaries of saints, so called, although the most were nothing less, forasmuch as his highness hath found other idolatry, or detestable superstition used thereabouts, and perceived that they were for the most part feigned things; as the blood of Christ, so called in some place, was but a piece of red silk, inclosed in a piece of thick glass of chrystalline. In another place, oil, coloured of 'sanguinis draconis,'———and other innumerable illusions, superstitions and apparent deceits ——His majesty therefore, hath caused the same to be taken away, and the abusive pieces thereof to be brent, the doubtful to be set and hidden honestly away for fear of idolatry." Collier's Eccl. Hist. Appendix, vol. ix. pp. 170, 1. ed. Lond. 1840, 1. There is a curious letter printed in the State Papers, dated Sept. 1, [A. D. 1538.] (vol. i. p. 583.) from Penison to Crumwel, relative to the shewing of the shrine of Thomas a Becket, at Canterbury, to Madame de Montreuil, "at the which she was not little marvelled of the great riches thereof; saying to be innumerable, and that if she had not seen it, all the men in the world could never have made her to believe it. Thus overlooking and viewing more than an hour as well the shrine as St. Thomas' head, being at both set cushions to kneel, and the prior opening St. Thomas' head, saying to her three times 'This is St. Thomas' head,' and offered her to kiss it, but she neither kneeled, nor would kiss it, but still viewing the riches thereof." Soon after this visit, and in the same month, the shrine was despoiled. "The shrine of Thomas Becket [Sept. A. D. 1538.] in the priory of Christ Church was likewise taken to the king's use. This shrine was builded about a man's height, all of stone, then upward of timber plain, within the which was a chest of iron, containing the bones of Thomas Becket, skull and all, with the wound of his death, and the piece cut out of his skull laid in the same wound. These bones,

riches thereof, were taken away. The king in this letter commanded him to cause due search to be made in his cathedral church for shrines, and coverings of shrines, &c. and to take them away, that there remain no memory thereof; and to command all the curates and incumbents of livings to do the like.

(by command of the lord Crumwell), were then and there burnt. —The spoil of which shrine in gold and precious stones filled two great chests, such as six or seven strong men could do no more than convey one of them at once out of the church." Stowe's Annals, p. 575, ed. Lond. 1516. The paper above quoted from Collier states, however, (pp. 171, 2.) that "by writings and chronicles of good record——— yet nevertheless it was arrested, that his shrines and bones should be taken away and bestowed in such place as the same should cause no superstition afterwards, And" (it proceeds) "forasmuch as his head almost whole was found with the rest of his bones, closed within the shrine; and that there was in that church a great skull of another head, but much greater by the three quarter parts than that part which was lacking in the head closed within the shrine, whereby it appeared that the same was but a feigned fiction. If this head was brent, was therefore St. Thomas brent? Assuredly it concludeth not. St. Swythin and other relics, where abuse of hypocrisy was, be laid safe, and not, as it is untruly surmised, brent, but according to reason collocate secretly, where there shall be no cause of superstition given by them." A proclamation, still preserved, (Cotton. MSS. Titus. B. i. British Museum), was issued, "chiefly concerning Becket," at Westminster, Nov. 16, 30 Hen. VIII. [A. D. 1538] declaring that there appeared "nothing in his life and exterior conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince," and that from henceforth he should "not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a saint; —and that his images and pictures, through the whole realm, should be put down and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that———the days used to be festivals in his name should not be observed," &c. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. part ii. Appendix, B. iii. No. 62. pp. 206, 7. ed. Oxon. 1829; abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. p. 378.]

The king's letters were as follow:

"BY THE KING.

"Most reverend father in God, right trusty and right entirely well-beloved, we greet you well: letting you wit, that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance, which we had to our bounden duty toward Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word; we did not only cause the images[a] and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; but also by our injunctions commanded, that no offering, or setting of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacrament of the altar[b]: it is lately come to our knowledge, that, this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, covering of shrines, and monuments of those things, do yet remain in sundry places of our realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition; and also that our injunctions be not kept, as appertaineth: for the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet by these our letters expressly to will and command you, that, incontinently upon the receipt hereof,

The king to the archbishop for searching after shrines. Abp. Cranm. Regist. z

z [Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 857. ex Reg. Cranmer, f. 18. a.]

a [See another letter from Winchester (i. e. Gardiner) to the lord protector (i. e. Somerset). Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1345, 6. ed. Lond. 1583; in which he relates the subject of a conversation between Henry VIII. and Cranmer respecting images and their use.]

b [See Injunctions to the Clergy made by Crumwel, A. D. 1538. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. part ii. Append. B. iii. No. 11, pp. 279–284. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

you shall not only cause due search to be made in your cathedral churches for those things; and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimage, do there continue, to cause it to be taken away, so as there remain no memory of it: but also that you shall take order with all the curates, and other, having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable. And to see that our injunctions be duly kept, as appertaineth, without failing, as we trust, and as you will answer to the contrary. Yeven under our signet, at our town of Hull, the iiii day of October, in the xxxiiii[c] year of our reign."

This was dated from Hull, for the king was now in his progress towards Scotland, to meet the Scots king according to appointment; though he met him not.

The archbishop's orders accordingly to his dean, his archdeacon, and commissary.

Whereupon the archbishop, by his letter dated from Lambeth, Oct. 15, to Richard Lyel, LL.D. dean of the
93 deaneries of Shoreham, Croydon, Bocking, Risburgh, Tering, and Pageham, enjoined him to take care to execute the king's will[d]: to cite before him, with all speed, all and singular the ministers of the collegiate churches; and rectors, vicars, and priests of the parish churches within the deaneries aforesaid; and then to declare to them the contents of the king's letters, and to command them to observe exactly the king's injunctions. The like letters he also sent to Edmund Cranmer, archdeacon of Canterbury. An answer to which the said Edmund wrote to the archbishop, dated Oct. 29, signifying his doing according to the archbishop's commandment. The like were written to Hugh Glazier, the archbishop's commissary-general in

[c] [Rectius, "third." Wilkins.]

[d] [See Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. p. 857. and abp. Cranmer's Works: vol. ii. Appendix. pp. 490, 1. Park. Soc. ed.]

the town of Calais, and the marches of the same. Who sent his answer to the archbishop, Nov. 24th, from the town of Calais.

I am apt to think that these letters of the king were circulary, and sent with the same command to all the bishops to see executed in their several dioceses; though the effect of them was according as the bishops themselves stood affected.

The archbishop lays Bekesburn to the see.

This year an exchange was made by the archbishop of the manor of Bishopsburn for Bekesburn, with sir John Gage, comptroller of the king's household. Bekesburn, anciently called Livingsburn, was healthfully and conveniently seated, lying an easy distance from Canterbury, whensoever the archbishops were minded to be retired. This place archbishop Parker took a great delight in, and intended greatly to enlarge by buildings; but died before he began his purpose. Archbishop Cranmer made considerable buildings here, and probably would have done more, had he continued in his prelacy. In the year 1552, he finished the gate-house now standing; as appears from the north and south sides thereof, wherein are two stones set in the brick-work, with the letters of his name, T. C., and coat of arms, and motto, "*Nosce Teipsum, et Deum;*" together with the date, 1552. This manor now returned to the church again, from whence it had been for some time severed; only the owners changed. For whereas, before the dissolution of the monasteries, it belonged to the priors of Christ Church, Canterbury; now it came to the archbishops. This manor was not given to Christ Church till after the year 1400. Thomas Goldstone, a prior of that church, and a great builder, built the manor-house for a mansion for the priors, and a chapel annexed, and a new hall adjoining to the dormitory, and divers other edifices there; as we learn from the

Angl. Sacra, vol. i. p. 148.[i]

History of the Priors of Canterbury lately published[e]. To which we may add a record in that church, to direct us in the computation of the time: viz. anno Dom.

Records of Chr. Ch. Cant.

1508. *In vigiliis S. Marci Capella dedicatur in Manerio de Lyvyngsborn, procurante Thoma Goldston.* At the dissolution this was alienated and given to Gage; and from him it came to archbishop Cranmer and his successors. And the bargain was confirmed by act of parliament, anno Henr. 34[f].

Learned preachers preferred by the archbishop.

The archbishop, as he had opportunity, preferred learned and pious men in his diocese in the benefices of his church: and such who freely preached against the pope and his superstitions, against images, and the worship of them. The chief of these were Nic. Ridley, (afterwards bishop of London), whom he made vicar of

94 Herne, and prebend of Canterbury; and John Scory, (afterwards bishop of Chichester), whom he made one of the six preachers; Michael Drum, and Lancelot Ridley, worthy men, were two more of the six. These he preferred, and divers others about through his diocese, that set the abuses of popery open before the people's eyes in their sermons. This so angered the men of the old religion, and particularly some of his own church in Canterbury, that they detected them to the archbishop, by articling against them for their doctrine. This they did this year, when the archbishop visited his church. And about two years after they did so again, as shall be taken notice of in due season.

The archbishop makes some recant.

About this time it was that Serles and Shether, two of the six preachers of Canterbury, were by the arch-

[e] [See Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 148. ed. Lond. 1691.]

[f] [See Hasted's Hist. of Kent, vol. iii. p. 715. who states that the exchange passed 35° Hen. VIII. The bill is not extant, being neither found on the Rolls nor in the Statutes at large.]

bishop's censure put to recantation for some unsound passages they had preached. Which made them such enemies to the archbishop, and such contrivers of his ruin, by devising and drawing up a great number of articles against him, if they could have accomplished their design, as shall be seen hereafter under the year 1543. It was observed of Shether at this time, that after the pronouncing his recantation, or declaration, he added these words; "Good Christians, I take God to record, that I never preached any thing to you in my life but the truth." And so in short gave himself the lie, and overthrew all the recantation he had made before.

A convocation.

The latter end of the year there was a convocation: wherein one of the matters before them was concerning the procuring a true translation of the New Testament; which was indeed intended, not so much to do such a good work, as to hinder it. For having decried the present translation, on purpose to make it unlawful for any to use it, they pretended to set themselves about a new one. But it was mercly to delay and put off the people from the common use of the Scripture: as appeared plainly enough, in that the bishops themselves undertook it. And so having it in their own hands, they might make what delays they pleased. For in the third session, a proposition was made for the translation, and an assignation to each bishop of his task: as Matthew to the archbishop of Canterbury, Mark to the bishop of Lincoln, Luke to Winton, John to Ely: and so of the rest. But the archbishop saw through all this: and therefore, in a sessions that followed after, told the house from the king, to whom I suppose he had discovered this intrigue, that the translation should be left to the learned of both universities. This was a surprise to the

Their business. Fuller's Ch. Hist. [transcribed with his own hand] from the Records of Canterbury.

bishops, who all, except Ely and St. David's, protested against it, and began to undervalue the sufficiency of the universities, as much decayed of late: and that they were but young men: and that the greatest learning lay in the convocation-men. But the archbishop roundly said, that *"he would stick by his master's will and pleasure; and that the universities should examine the translations."*

95 BISHOPS CONSECRATED.

William Knight. May 29, being Sunday, William Knight was conse-

g ["In the third session on Friday, (Feb. 3,) several bishops were assigned to peruse several books of the translation of the New Testament, in order as followeth. Archbishop Cranmer, Matthew; John Lincoln (Longland), Mark; Stephen Winchester (Gardiner), Luke; Thomas Ely (Goodrich), John; Nicholas Rochester (Heath), Acts of the Apostles; Richard Chichester (Sampson), Romans; John Sarum (Salcot, alias Capon), 1 and 2 Corinthians; William St. Davids (Barlow), Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians; John Worcester (Bell), 1 and 2 Thessalonians; Robert St. Asaph (Parfew), Timothy, Titus, Philemon; Robert Llandaff (Holgate), 1 and 2 Peter; John Hereford (Skip), Hebrews; Thomas Westminster (Thirlby), James, 1, 2, and 3 John, Jude; John Gloucester (Wakeman), John Peterborough (Chambers), Revelation. In a following session, (i. e. the ninth, March 10th: see Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. p. 862,) Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, informed the house, that 'it was the king's will and pleasure that the translation both of the Old and New Testament should be examined by both universities.' This met with much opposition in the house; all the bishops, Ely and St. David's excepted, making their protests to the contrary. These affirmed, 'the universities were much decayed of late, wherein all things were carried by young men, whose judgments were not to be relied on, so that the learning of the land was chiefly in this convocation.' But the archbishop said, 'he would stick close to the will and pleasure of the king, his master, and that the universities should examine the translation.' And here, (for aught I can find to the contrary), the matter ceased, and the convocation soon after was dissolved." — Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iii. pp. 197, 8, 201. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

crated bishop of Bath and Wells by Nicolas, bishop of Rochester[h], by virtue of the archbishop's letters to him, assisted by Richard, suffragan of Dover[i], and John, suffragan of Bedford, in the chapel of the said bishop of Bath's house, situate in the Minories without Aldgate.

John Wakeman.

September the 25th, John Wakeman, late abbot of Tewksbury[j], was consecrated the first bishop of Gloucester by the archbishop, Edmond[k], bishop of London, and Thomas[l], bishop of Westminster, assisting.

John Chambre.

John Chambre, B.D.[m] was consecrated first bishop of Peterborough, October 23, in the cathedral church of Peterborough, in the presbytery there, by John, bishop of Lincoln[n], Thomas, bishop of Ely[o], and William, bishop of Norwich[p], by commission from the archbishop.

Arthur Bulkely.

February the 19th, Arthur Bulkely[q] was consecrated in the chapel of John Incent, LL.D. dean of St. Paul's, by John, bishop of Sarum[r], by virtue of letters commissional from the archbishop, William bishop of St. David's[s] and John bishop of Gloucester assisting[t].

Robert King.

Robert King[u], another abbot, and titular bishop Reonen, suffragan to the bishop of Lincoln, was this year consecrated bishop of Oxford. The date, or his consecrators, I cannot assign, the act being omitted in the archbishop's register. He was first a monk of Rewly,

[h] [Nicholas Heath.]
[i] [See above, pp. 138, 9.]
[j] [He was consecrated at Croydon. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 101.]
[k] [Edmund Boner.]
[l] [Thomas Thirlby.]
[m] [John Chambers, the last abbot and first bishop of Peterborough. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 239.]
[n] [John Longland.]
[o] [Thomas Goodrich.]
[p] [William Rugge, alias Repps.]
[q] [Arthur Bulkeley was consecrated bishop of Bangor, which the author has omitted to state. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 27.]
[r] [John Salcot.]
[s] [William Barlow.]
[t] [John Wakeman.]
[u] [See above, p. 76.]

a priory without Oxford, of the Cistertian order; then abbot of Bruerne in Oxfordshire; after, abbot of Thame, of which he was also called bishop; and lastly of Oseney: both which he surrendered to the king at the dissolution of monasteries. This man, when suffragan, preached at St. Mary's in Stamford, where he most fiercely inveighed against such as used the New Testament. In queen Mary's reign he was a persecutor of the protestants, and died, 1557.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE KING'S BOOK REVISED.

THE archbishop was this year, among other things, employed in the king's book, as it now was called, that is, "*The Erudition of any Christian Man,*" spoken of before[x]. For the king was minded now to have it well reviewed, and if there were any errors, and less proper expressions, to have them corrected and amended: and so to have it recommended unto the people as a complete book of Christian principles, in the stead of the Scripture; which, upon pretence of their abuse of, the king would not allow longer to be read. Accordingly a correction was made throughout the book; and the correct copy sent to Cranmer to peruse: which he did, and added his own annotations upon various passages in it at good length. And had it not been too long, I had transcribed it wholly out of a volume in the Benet college library. But for a taste take this that follows. In the title, under his own hand, was this written: Ann. 1542. The king's book revised by the archbishop.

ANIMADVERSIONS UPON THE KING'S BOOK[y]. 96

Upon the Chapter of Original Sin.

[lxxxiii.] *For the first offence of our father Adam.*] Miscellanea D. inter MSS. C.C.C.C. civ. p. 241.]

[x] [See above, p. 111.]

[y] [The title alone of these annotations or animadversions is in the handwriting of archbishop Cranmer,—the document itself being a copy by a secretary. Strype supposed that they referred to the "Necessary Doctrine," generally known as the "King's Book," whilst the "Institution" was called the "Bishops' Book." There is some doubt respecting the time when they were written; Lewis (of Margate) states that

"No man shall be damned for the offences of Adam, but for his own proper offences, either actual or original; which original sin every man hath of his own, and is born in it, although it come from Adam."

[lxxxiv.] *The principal mean* (viz. God's favour) *whereby all sinners attain their justification.*] "This sentence importeth, that the favour and love of the Father of heaven towards us is the mean whereby we come to his favour and love; and so should one thing be mean to itself. And it is not the use of Scripture to call any other the mean and mediator for us, but only Jesus Christ, by whom our access is to the Father."

[lxxxvi.] *Having assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy, willing to enter into the perfect faith.*] "He that hath assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy hath already entered into a perfect faith, and not only hath a will to enter into it. For perfect faith is nothing else but assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy."

Upon the Explication of the Tenth Commandment.

[lxix.] *Without due recompense.*] "This addition agreeth not well with the coveting of another man's wife, wherein is no recompensation; and in the other things, although recompensation be made, yet the commandment nevertheless is transgressed and broken."

Upon another chapter concerning Obedience to the Civil Power.

[i.] *By his ordinate power.*] "This word *ordinate*

they appeared A. D. 1538, and Strype in 1542; but the former seems to be the more correct date. The above extracts and those, which are placed by the author in the Appendix, have been corrected from the C. C. C. C. MSS. The entire MSS. is printed in abp. Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. vol. ii. pp. 83–114.]

power obscureth the sentence in the understanding of them that be simple and unlearned: and among the learned it gendereth contention and disputation, rather than it anything edificth. Therefore meseemeth it better and more plain as it is in the print; or else to say, *by his ordinance:* for the Scripture speaketh simply and plainly; *potestati ejus quis resistit?* [and, *omnia quæcunque voluit fecit.*]"

By these few passages, which I have carefully taken out of the archbishop's own book, may be seen of what a critical and exact judgment he was.

Divers discourses of the archbishop.

But besides these *adversaria* in these papers of the archbishop's annotations, there be divers large discourses of his upon several heads of religion, drawn up, as I conceive, upon the king's command, to be inserted into his book above mentioned. I have extracted some of these discourses; as upon faith, justification, and forgiveness of injuries; wherein may be seen his sound opinion in those great doctrines of Christian religion. I took also out of the same volume some specimen of three other discourses of his: one with this title, writ by his own hand, *De Consolatione Christianorum contra metum mortis.* 97 *Ex Doctoribus Ecclesiasticis.* Compiled, I guess, as well for his own use, being not inapprehensive of his ticklish station and danger, from so many and implacable enemies which he had, as to be inserted in the aforesaid book. The others were two exhortations, to take the pains of sickness well, and adversity patiently: the one taken out of Cyprian, the other out of St. Augustin, lib. *De visitatione infirmorum.* The specimen of them are in the Appendix; as also the discourses of faith, justification, and forgiveness of injuries. Numbers XXXI. XXXII.

The goodly Primer.

This year Boner bishop of London set forth injunctions[z] for the clergy of his diocese, containing directions for their preaching and conversation; together with a catalogue of certain books prohibited; which the curates were to inquire after in their respective parishes, and to inform their ordinaries of them, and of those in whose possessions they found them. Among these books were the English Testament of Tindal, and divers other pieces of the said godly and learned man; some prefaces and marginal glosses of Thomas Mathews in his English Bible. A book of friar Barnes. The Supplication of Beggars. The Practice of Prelates. The Revelation of Antichrist. The Church of John Rastal. The Disputation between the Father and the Son. The preface made in the English primers by Marshal. This Marshal was he, I suppose, whose Christian name was Cutbert, and was D.D. and archdeacon of Nottingham, and died about 1549[a]. At this book I will stop a little, being a book of eminency and remark in those times; and that hath such a strain of truth and serious piety in it, that it seems very probable that the archbishop had a considerable hand in it, and procured the publication of it, *cum privilegio regali*. It was styled "*A Goodly Primer*, or *Book of Prayers*," and called "*The King's Primer*." I speak of the second edition, which was about the year 1535. It began with an admonition to the reader, containing very sharp and severe reflections upon the popish devotions, and praying to saints. And towards the conclusion, the writer professeth, "That this his admonition proceded neither of blynde zele, or affection, neyther of wyll or purpose to offend or displease any man, moch less than to displease any saint in heaven; and in no wyse than our

[z] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. B. iii. No. 26. pp. 381–390. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[a] [See above p. 177.]

blessed lady, but evin of very pure love to the honour of God, and helth of mennes souls."

Then followeth a pious exposition of the Ten Commandments, and the Creed. Then is a general confession of sin; which goes according to the Commandments, after this manner: 1. I have not set my whole belief, confidence, trust and hope in thee, &c. 2. I have divided thy worship and honour from thee, and given it to thy creatures, and to dead things, imagined of my own fond fantasy; I mean, in the misusing of images. 3. I have abused thy name, &c. 4. In the sabbath-day I have not given myself to hearing, reading, and learning the holy Scriptures, &c. Then comes an exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, and the salutation. Some short 98
prayers. Some graces before and after meat; most of which are graces still retained in our English primers, after the catechism. And the method of the book is the same with our children's primer now in use. In this edition there was a litany added, with a preface before it, directly against praying to saints, and shewing the difference of the case, between presenting our petitions to God, and presenting a petition to an earthly king: that though this latter cannot be done without the mediation of some servant of the king, yet the former may be done immediately to God, in the name of Christ. Besides, he said, there were many doubtful saints: that many saints canonized by the bishop of Rome, whether they were saints or no, he committed to the secret judgment of God. By this taste of the preface, you easily see, why bishop Boner placed it among the prohibited books, to be diligently searched for. The litany the author added, for the sake of many people, that thought there could be no right prayers without they

were in the old form of processions, which were by way of litany, or supplication to angels and saints. And so he writ in this preface, that it was for the contentation of such weak minds, and somewhat to bear their infirmities, that he had, at this his second edition of the primer, caused the litany to be printed. In this litany all doubtful saints are left out, and he addresseth only to the holy angels St. Michael, St. Raphael, &c. to pray for us; and the blessed apostles, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, &c. The prayer for the king nameth king Henry VIII. and his gracious son prince Edward. In the calendar Thomas a Becket's days are still retained in red letters; but I suppose that was done of course by the printer, using the old calendar. In the same book is a large and pious paraphrase on Psalm li.: a dialogue between the Father and the Son: Meditations on Christ's passion: and many other things.

The archbishop instrumental to the reformation in Scotland.

By somewhat that happened this year, the archbishop proved very instrumental in promoting the reformation of corrupt religion in the neighbouring nation of Scotland: which this year had received a great overthrow by the English army; and great numbers of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen were taken prisoners, and brought up to London, and after disposed of in the houses of the English nobility and gentry, under an easy restraint. The earl of Cassillis[b] was sent to Lambeth; where the good archbishop shewed him all respects, in

Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 320.

[b] [i. e. Gilbert Kenedy, earl of Cassilis. "But the earl of Casilis had the best luck of them all; (i. e. of the lords that were taken prisoners and brought to London;) for being sent to Lambeth, where he was a prisoner upon his parole, Cranmer studied to free him from the darkness and fetters of popery: in which he was so successful, that the other was afterwards a great promoter of the reformation in Scotland." Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 640–642. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

providing him with necessaries and conveniences, but especially in taking care of his soul. He detected to him the great errors of popery, and the reasons of those regulations that had been lately made in religion in England. And so successful was the archbishop herein, that the earl went home much enlightened in true religion; which that nation then had a great aversion to, for they highly misliked the courses king Henry took, which prejudices the king understanding endeavoured to take off, by sending Barlow bishop of St. David's to Scotland with the book of "*The institution of a Christian Man;*" which nevertheless made no great impression upon 99
that people. But this that happened to the Scottish nobility, that were now taken prisoners, and especially this guest of the archbishop, becoming better inclined to religion by the knowledge they received while they remained here, had a happier effect, and brought on the reformation that after happened in that kingdom.

An act procured by the archbishop.

The parliament being summoned in January, in order to the king's making war with France, (whither he intended to go in person), the archbishop resolved to try this occasion to do some good service again for religion, which had of late received a great stop. His endeavour now was to moderate the severe acts about religion, and to get some liberty for the people's reading of the Scripture. Cranmer first made the motion, and four bishops, viz. Worcester,[c] Hereford,[d] Chichester,[e] and Rochester,[f] seconded him. But Winchester[g] opposed the archbishop's motion with all earnestness. And the faction combined with so much violence, that these bishops and all other fell off

Hist. Refor. vol. i. p. 321.

[c] [John Bell.]
[d] [John Skyp.]
[e] [Richard Sampson.]
[f] [Nicholas Heath.]
[g] [Stephen Gardiner.]

from the archbishop; and two of them endeavoured to persuade the archbishop to desist at present, and to stay for a better opportunity. But he refused, and followed his stroke with as much vigour as he could; and in fine, by his persuasion with the king and the lords, a bill passed. And the king was the rather inclined thereunto, because he being now to go abroad upon a weighty expedition, thought convenient to leave his subjects at home as easy as might be. So with much struggling an act was passed, intituled, "*An act for the advancement of true religion, and the abolishment of the contrary.*" In this act, as Tindal's translation of the Scriptures was forbidden to be kept or used, so other Bibles were allowed to some persons, excepting the annotations and preambles, which were to be cut or dashed out. And the king's former proclamations and injunctions, with the primers, and other books printed in English, for the instruction of the people before the year 1540, were still to be in force, which it seems before were not. And that every nobleman and gentleman might have the Bible read in their houses: and that noble ladies, and gentlewomen, and merchants, might read it themselves; but no men or women under those degrees. That every person might read and teach in their houses the book set out in the year 1540, (which was, "*The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man,*") with the Psalter, Primer, Pater-noster, Ave, and Creed in English. But when Winchester and his party saw that they could not hinder the bill from passing, they clogged it with provisos, that it came short of what the archbishop intended it; as, that the people of all sorts and conditions universally might not read the Scriptures, but only some few of the higher rank: and that no book should be printed about religion without the king's allow-

ance: and that the act of the Six Articles should be in the same force it was before[h].

A BISHOP CONSECRATED. 100

June the 25th, being Sunday, Paul Bushe, provincial of the Bonhommes, was consecrated the first bishop of Bristol, by Nicolas bishop of Rochester[i], assisted by Thomas bishop of Westminster[k], and John suffragan of Bedford[l]. This consecration was celebrated in the parish church of Hampton in the diocese of Westminster. Paul Bushe.

[h] [34°. Hen. VIII. c. 1. See Stat. of the Realm, vol. iii. pp. 894–897. and Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. pp. 642–646. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[i] [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 48.]

[k] [Nicholas Heath.]

[l] [Thomas Thirlby.]

CHAPTER XXV.

PRESENTMENTS AT A VISITATION.

Ann. 1543. The king's book published by authority.

By the act above mentioned, the generality of the people were restrained from reading the holy Scriptures. But in lieu of it was set forth by the king and his clergy, in the year 1543, a doctrine for all his subjects to use and follow; which was the book abovesaid: and all books that were contrary to it were by authority of parliament condemned. It was printed in London by Thomas Barthelet. This book the archbishop enjoined to be made public in his diocese, (as I suppose it was in all other dioceses throughout the kingdom), and allowed no preaching or arguing against it. And when one Mr. Joseph, once a friar in Canterbury, now a learned and earnest preacher, (and who was afterward preferred to Bow-Church in London), had attempted to preach against some things in the book, the archbishop checked and forbad him: for indeed there were some points therein which the archbishop himself did not approve of, foisted into it by Winchester's[m] means and interest at that time with the king. Which bishop, politicly as well as flatteringly, called it "*The king's book*," a title which the archbishop did not much like; for he knew well enough Winchester's hand was in it: and so he told him plainly in king Edward's time, when he might speak his mind; telling him in relation thereunto, that *he had seduced the king*. But because of the authority of the parliament ratifying the book, and the many good and useful things that were in it, the archbishop introduced and countenanced it in his diocese, and would not allow open preaching against it.

[m] [Stephen Gardiner.]

The archbishop, about the month of September, held a visitation in Canterbury: chiefly because of the jangling of the preachers, and the divers doctrines vented among them, according as their fancies, interests, or judgments led them. The visitation proceeded upon the king's injunctions, and other late ordinances. And here I shall set down before the reader some of the presentments, as I take them from an original in a volume that belonged to this archbishop. Wherein notice may be taken, what ignorance was then in some of the priests; what bandying against one another, and what good progress the Gospel did begin to make, and what good numbers of priests and laymen there were that savoured of the Gospel-doctrine.

A visitation at Canterbury.

Intit. Accusatio Cranmer inter MS. C.C.C.C.[o]

Sir Humphrey Chirden, parson of St. Elphin's, on a Sunday in Lent, said, "If Judas had gone to God and confessed his fault, saying *Peccavi*, as he went unto the priests, he had not been damned." This passage was plain enough levelled against confessing to a priest. But this was presentable, because against the Six Articles.

Presentments. 101

One Lancaster, the parson of Pluckley, was presented, because that when one Giles said, that he blessed himself daily and nightly, saying, "*In nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*;" and then said, in the honour of God and our lady, and all the company of heaven, and for all Christian souls that God would have prayed for, a Pater-noster, an Ave, and a Creed; the said parson said to him, that if he knew it of truth that the said Giles used the same form of prayer, he would not accompany him, nor once drink with him.

Vincent Ingeam, (a justice of peace I suppose), commanded on Easter Monday, 33° of the king[n], that no man should read, or hear the Bible read, upon pain of imprisonment: and cast two into prison, the one for speak-

[n] [i. e. A. D. 1540.]

[o] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cxxviii. p. 203.]

ing against him therein, and the other for shewing him the king's injunctions concerning the same. He repugned against the doings of the commissary for taking down the image of St. John, by the king's commandment. Where I find, among other witnesses to this, one Daniel Cranmer, a relation doubtless of the archbishop.

Sir Thomas, curate of Sholden, and Thomas Sawier, set up again four images, which by the king's commandment were taken down, for abuses by pilgrimages and offerings: viz. St. Nicolas, St. Stephen, St. Laurence, and our lady.

Another accused for forsaking his own parish church at the time of Easter, two years together, [not liking his parish priest for his affection to the gospel,] and for going to Walsingham, [in pilgrimage:] and that he would at no time shew to the vicar a lawful certificate that he had received the blessed sacrament at the time commonly accustomed, as a Christian man ought to do. And obstinately refused to learn his Pater-noster, Ave, Credo, and Ten Commandments in English, according to the king's injunctions.

Sir Edward Sponer, vicar of Boughton, had not declared to his parishioners the right use of ceremonies, neither shewed the difference between them and works commanded by God, as he is commanded by the king's proclamation. He had not preached against the bishop of Rome his usurped power, and set forth the king's supremacy, as he is bound by the king's injunctions, and other his proceedings. He hath not preached his quarter's sermons, neither at Boughton nor at his benefice in the Mersh. He never declared, that the even of such saints, whose days be abrogated, be no fasting-days.

The archdeacon of Canterbury, (that was Edmund, the archbishop's brother), the morrow after the Ascension was three years, took out of the church of St. Andrew's in

Canterbury three lamp tapers brenning before the sacrament, and a coat from a rood, and did violently break the arms and legs of the rood.

Sir William Kemp, vicar of Northgate, had not read the Bible since Pentecost, as he was commanded by the ordinary. He doth not declare to his parishioners the right use of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles 102
upon Candlemas day, giving of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross: for lack whereof the most part of the said parish be as ignorant in such things as ever they were. And many of them do abuse holy water, insomuch that against tempests of thunder and lightning many run to the church for holy water to cast about their houses, to drive away evil spirits and devils, notwithstanding the king's proclamations in the same. He hath not read to them the king's injunctions, as he ought to do, by reason whereof his parish be blind and ignorant in them.

Bartholomew Joy confessed to his curate in general, saying, I am a sinner. And when the vicar asked him wherein he had sinned, he answered, that he had confessed himself to the Lord already, and that he would make none other confession at that time; and so departed.

John Tofts, Christopher Levenysh, Bartholomew Joy, in the thirtieth of the king, pulled down all the pictures in the church of Northgate in Canterbury, except only the rood, Mary and John, the twelve Apostles, the picture of our lady, and St. John Baptist. And in the thirty-fourth of the king, Tofts pulled down the picture of our lady, and had her and the tabernacle home to his house, and there did hew her all to pieces. And at another time, the same Tofts openly, with a loud voice, read the Bible in English in the church to his wife, Sterkie's wife, George Toft's wife, to the midwife of the same parish, and to as many others as then were present.

Joanna Meriwether of St. Mildred's parish, for displeasure that she bare towards a young maid named Elizabeth Celsay, and her mother, made a fire upon the dung of the said Elizabeth; and took a holy candle, and dropt upon the said dung. And she told unto her neighbours, that the said enchantment would make the cule of the said maid to divide into two parts.

Rafe, the bell-ringer of Christ Church at the burial of Dr. Champion, [the archbishop's chaplain,] after the priest had censed his grave, and a boy was bearing away the censers and the coals, called after the boy, and took the censers, and poured the hot coals upon him in his grave, to the great slander of the said Dr. Champion, as though he had been an heretic, worthy burning. Also he said, the king was content that all images should be honoured as they were wont to be.

Coxson, petty canon of Christ Church, made his testament, by the advice of Mr. Parkhurst, Mr. Sandwich, and Mr. Mills, canons of the said church; and gave and bequeathed to every vicar of Christ Church twenty pence, that had a pair of beads, and would say our lady psalter for his soul departed. And this was executed according to the will.

The parson of Alyngton never preached in the church of Alyngton, nor declared against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, nor set forth the king's supremacy according to the king's proclamations, letters, and injunctions. He hath been a great setter forth in his parish of the maid of Kent, pilgrimages, feigned relics, and other such superstitions; and yet never recanted, and reproved the same, according to the king's majesty's injunctions. He hath not declared to his parishioners, that the eves
103 of such holy days as be abrogate be no fasting-days, according to the king's injunctions. So upon the Sundays,

Candlemas-day, Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, and Good-Friday, he hath not declared the true use of the ceremonies, used those days according to the king's proclamation.

The curate of Stodmersh did dissuade men from eating of white-meats the last Lent, and rebuked them that did eat white-meats. About All-hallowtide was twelvemonth he preached in St. Dunstan's church beside Canterbury, that "men should love God, and fear God, but not to trust him too much."

Turnor, in the time of his being at Chartham, did cast no holy water, neither before the sacrament, nor upon any altar in the church, (except the high altar). Nor also before the crucifix in the rood-loft, according to the laudable ceremony. He christened three children upon one day, and did not anoint them with holy oil, neither upon back nor belly. He neither incensed the crucifix in the rood-loft, nor any altar in the church, except the high altar: nor distributed any holy candles among his parishioners, as hath been accustomed.

Sir James Newman and one Lawrence took down an image of our lady; to the which was no offering, except candles at the purification of women: nor any miracles noted to be done there by the said image.

Scory, one of the six preachers, said, that much superstitions were used in the church, as making of crosses upon Palm-Sunday, setting of them up, and blessing them with the holy candles; ringing of bells in the thunder. "For think you," said he "that the devil will be afraid, or flee away at cross-making, hurling of holy water, ringing of bells, and such other ceremonies; when he was not afraid to take Christ himself, and cast him on his back, and set him on a pinnacle? Those things that be good of themselves may not utterly be put away,

although they be abused. For then the holy sacrament of the altar should be set aside, which is daily bought and sold."

Serles, one of the six preachers, in a sermon said, "If the preacher preach error and erroneous doctrine, the simple man, though he receive it and believe it, it doth not infect nor corrupt him." And this he repeated twice. He said also, that "Moses sent letters from hell, to teach the state thereof, and how men should live: and another likewise out of heaven. *Item*, they say," said he, "that only faith justifies, and that it maketh no matter how we do live: Christ died for us, and by his blood hath washed all our sins away; therefore what needeth us to fast or pray!"

Sandwich, a canon of Christ's Church, said in his sermon in the year 1542, "Whereas a good Christian, or evil, preached unto you truly the word of God, as I report me to the conscience of you all; yet some that have evil ears did evil report of me. But if their ears were cut off, as Malchus' was, and set up where every man might wonder at them, I think therein a man should not wish much against charity." At another time, in the year 1543, he said in his sermon, "Some, if they are given to goodness, to follow the decrees of
104 holy church, to kneel before the blessed sacrament, they will counsel them from the same, and say, "*Deus in manufactis templis non habitat.*" They will have none of the holy doctors. They will not have St. Augustin, St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, St. Gregory, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, &c. Since the time we have been given to new fangles, the spirit of new fangle hath brought in the spirit of error. But what remedy then," said he, "to obtain the spirit of truth again? Of that," said he, "I spake the last time that I preached, and shewed you

that we must return where we went out. We must return to our dog, to our conscience again; and that will certify us where is the truth."

Shether, one of the six preachers, said, "That there was one straight way to the truth, in which we and all men have gone a long time; saving a few now of late, not being content to follow that trade, have wandered in divers pathways to seek a nearer way to the truth. But they are like unto one, that, being clean lost, was fain to ask which way he might go to the end of his journey? And to such it was answered, You be clean out of the way, and there is none other means for you, but even to turn back again, and to begin your journey again where you left." Nothing at all, as the informer adds, admonishing the people of the way, which men had lost, by defending and retaining the usurpations of Rome: nor no mention that the king's majesty hath reformed the abuses of superstitious religion. But even as one, that would have all things honestly reformed, to revert again into their superstition, for the maintenance of all blindness and error, commanded every man to turn back, and to begin where they left.

Dr. Willowby, the vicar of Chilham, keepeth still in his church a certain shrine gilt, named St. Austin's shrine: which shrine was conveyed from St. Austin's of Canterbury unto the parish church of Chilham, at the suppression of the monastery of St. Austin's. *Item*, a rood there, which had shoes of silver, being a monument of pilgrimage, or offering, standeth yet still, being only spoiled of the monument. He said, images had power of God to help sick people vowing unto them, the communication then being of our lady of Cutupstreet, between the said vicar and one Dawson of Chartham, a miller. *Memorandum*, that Potter's wife was banished

out of Feversham for her suspect lying with Dr. Willowby, and also was compelled to forsake Chilham for the same, about two or three years past; and yet she remains in the company of the said doctor.

Serles, mentioned before, in a sermon made in the chapter-house of Christ's Church, anno 1543, said, "Some that occupy this place of preaching say not matins, mass, nor even-song, once in a quarter. They be never seen confessed, nor to occupy porteous nor mass-book. These use no vocal prayer: beware of their doctrine." In the church of Leneham, in the day of Assumption, he said, "That as the moon is in the full at fourteen days, even so Mary was conceived fully with Christ, when she was fourteen years old. *Item,*" he said, "That if one had looked in Mary, when she was full conceived with Christ, he should have perceived him in his mother's womb with a bush of thorns on his back: for he was crucified, crowned, and pricked with thorns. That Mary bare Christ poorly;
105 for she had no fire, but begged a coal of one, and a stick of another, to warm her child." He preached, "that Mary nourished her son with milk, but not with material milk, but with milk that came from heaven: for no woman else can nourish her child with material milk, than she that is conceived by knowledge of man. [And no question this heavenly milk came along the milky way.] That all the whole faith of the world remained in Mary only for the space of three days and three nights. That faith was dead in the Apostles, and in all the world, from the death of Christ till his resurrection, and remained in the Virgin Mary whole and only. That the sorrows that she had were greater and more painful than Christ's, but for death only. That Christ descended into hell, and rose the third day and ascended into heaven, and many more with him; saying thus, '*Multa corpora ascenderunt cum*

Christo, ut perhiberent testimonium.'" In Ashford he preached, that prayer was not acceptable with God, but in the church only, and nowhere else; alleging this text, "*Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.*" Then and there he said also, "You fellows of the new trick, that go up and down with your Testaments in your hands, I pray you what profit take you by them?" [This last passage relating to the Testament was interlined by Cranmer himself.] "As Adam was expulsed out of Paradise for meddling with a tree of knowledge, even so be we for meddling with the Scripture of Christ." He said, "There were some that said, that part of the Ave Maria was made to a strumpet. That Christ in the Gospel confounded Mary Magdalene with two parables, likening her to an alestake, and to a poor woman whom an emperor had married, and in his presence did lie with a leprous lazar-man." Anno 1542, preaching in Kennyngton church on Good Friday, he said, That "as a man was creeping to the cross upon a Good Friday, the image loosed itself off the cross, and met the man before he came to the cross, and kissed him." At the funeral of Mr. Boys he preached, That "by the receiving of the sacraments and penance, all a man's deadly sins were forgiven clearly, but the venial sins remained; and for them they that died should be punished, except they were relieved by masses and dirges after their death." [This that follows is Cranmer's hand;] He preacheth no sermon, but one part of it is an invective against the other preachers of Christ's Church.

Shether preached at Sandwich in the year 1542, That "baptism taketh away but only original sin." At another time there, that "every man, since the passion of Christ, hath as much liberty and free-will as ever Adam had in Paradise before his fall. That the new preachers, with

the liberty of the Gospel, have caused our livings to be worse than the Turks. That Zacharias and Elizabeth his wife, kept all the commandments of God; and that it was a light thing for every man to keep them if he would. That Christ and baptism did nothing else but wash away original sin: and that if any man after baptism did fall, he must purchase remission of his sins by penance, as Mary Magdalene did. That a certain king was sick of a leprosy and had a vision to go to Jordan to be washed, and should be whole. And as he was in his good intent going, he thought that he had as good and sweet water in his own
106 country as that was; and so returned back and washed himself therein, but nothing at all he thereby mended: and then he went to Jordan, and so was made whole." He compared man's conscience to a dog. "Beware of these false preachers, which preach to you new fangles. Will you know how to discern a true preacher from a false? You have a dog, which is your conscience: whensoever you shall come to any sermon, ask your dog what he saith unto it? If he say it be good, then follow it; but if your dog bark against it, and say it is naught, then beware and follow it not." Adding these words, "If you will ask your conscience, what she thinks of such new fangles as are brought into the church of God, she will say that they be naught." He also preached, that "men now-a-days say, that holy water signifieth of Christ's blood. O! these are very glorious words. But it is not fit, good Christians, that such new fangles and fantasies of men should be brought into the church of God." *Item*, In all his sermons he commonly useth to make invectives against the other preachers of this cathedral church; making the people believe that the preachers of the church preach nothing but a carnal liberty, new fangles, new auricular confession, prayers, fasting, and all good works. This last is added

by Cranmer's hand, as are also several other passages above, according as he himself took the examination.

And as the gospellers thus articled against the papists, so the papists were as hot in drawing up articles against the gospellers.

Scory, before mentioned, was accused, that he preached in a sermon at St. Elphy's, on Ascension day 1541, That there was none in heaven but Christ only; [meaning, I suppose, as mediators there with God, in opposition to the intercession of saints.] Then followeth, writ by Cranmer's hand, these words; "The witnesses against him were Bradkirk, priest, Shether, Marden, Colman;" adding, "These four be witnesses against all the articles of Ridley and Scory, in the first detection made to me two years past." Then follow more accusations of Scory. He preached in August last, in the chapter-house of Christ's Church, That "no man may pray in any wise in Latin, or other tongue, except he understand what he prayeth: and that priests and clerks do offend, taking any money or reward for saying *Dirige* and mass." He said that "some preachers brought in their sermons '*Gesta Romanorum*,' persuading to the people that it was the Gospel or the Bible." Another time, anno 1541, he preached in Lent in Christ's Church Canterbury, That "only faith justifies; and he that doth deny that only faith doth justify, would deny, if he durst be so bold, that Christ doth justify." He preached at Christ's Church another time, That "the supper of the Lord, which is '*sacrificium et hostia*,' is not '*hostia pro peccatis*,' but '*hostia laudis*.'" He preached at Faversham, anno 1542, in the Feast of Dedication, That "the dedication of material churches was instituted for the bishops' profits; and that he could not see by Scripture that they might use any such fashions for that purpose as for conjuration. And then they must conjure the Devil out of the ground, or out of the lime and stones. And if

so, then it were as necessary for every man's house to be consecrate or dedicate. Admit," quoth he, "that the dedi-
107 cation of the same were lawful, yet the bishops should always preach, (for that is their office;) and other men might and may consecrate them as well as they."

Item, "This sumptuous adorning of churches is against the old fashion of the primitive church. They had no such copes, nor chalices, nor other jewels, nor gildings, nor paintings of images, as we now have. And therefore, if I were curate, I would sell all such things, or lay them to pledge to help the poor."

At Christmas last there was a general procession by the king's majesty, and Mr. Scory preached these words: "Every country hath a custom to choose a patron. As England hath chosen St. George; Scotland, St. Andrew, &c. thinking rather by intercession of saints to obtain the victory of their enemies. But, good people," quoth he, "forasmuch as saints be circumscript, it is not possible for the saint that is in the north to hear the prayer that is made in the south; nor that saint that is in the south to hear the prayer that is made in the north." But this last passage of the Christmas sermon hath a cross struck through it.

Ridley, the prebendary, was charged, Sept. 22, 1543, that he preached at St. Stephen's, in the Rogation-week, anno Reg. 32°, that "auricular confession was but a mere positive law, and ordained as a godly means for the sinner to come to the priest for counsel; but he could not find it in Scripture. And that there was no meeter terms to be given to the ceremonies of the church, than to call them *beggarly ceremonies*. That *Te Deum* hath been sung commonly in English at Herne, where the said Mr. Doctor is vicar.

Brooks, one of the six preachers, was accused for

° [i. e. A. D. 1540.]

preaching, that all masters and mistresses were bound to eat eggs, butter, and cheese in Lent, to give example to their households to do the same. [This the papists thought a breaking of Lent, to allow this eating of white-meats, whereas fish only ought to be eaten.] And he thought that the ceremonies of the church were but "*beggarly ceremonies*," and that was the meetest term he could give them.

Thomas Carden, vicar of Lime, in a Lenten sermon, anno 1543, said, he supposed St. Katherine was rather a devil in hell than a saint in heaven. And that the people said naught, and that this term was naught to say, That they should receive their Maker at Easter; but they should say, We shall receive our housel. He preached, That the water in the font is no better than other water is.

Drum, one of the six preachers in the year 1543, preached in a sermon made in Christ's Church, that "we may not pray in an unknown tongue; for if we do, we do but mock with God, and of God we be mocked. As if a man do come to a lord, and babble to him words he knoweth not, the lord will but mock him, and account him for a fool. So thy prayer, man, not understood, is but babbling; and for that before God thou art but a fool. Your psalmody and song in the church is so taken with God, if that you, which do occupy yourselves therein, do not understand it. And thou that so babblest dost break the command of God: for it is written, "*Non accipies nomen Dei in vanum.*" And you do call on God vainly, when you do call upon him in a tongue that you 108
understand not. Wherefore to such as know not the Latin it must be needful to pray in the mother-tongue." Item, "That the material church is a thing made and ordained to content the affections of men, and is not the

thing that pleaseth God, nor that God requires; but is a thing that God doth tolerate for the weakness of men. For as the father contenteth his child with an apple, or a hobby-horse; not because these things do delight the father, but because the child, ruled by affections, is more desirous of these things than the father is rejoiced in the deed: so Almighty God, condescending to the infirmities of man, and his weakness, doth tolerate material churches, gorgeously built, and richly decked; not because he requires, or is pleased with such things." This Drum was one of the Cambridge men that cardinal Wolsey transplanted into his college at Oxon, and who suffered imprisonment there sometime after with Cox and Frith, and divers others of the same college, for matters of religion[q]. But however, Drum afterwards fell away into papistry.

Lancaster, parson of Pluckley, useth not in the church-porch any hally-water, according to the laudable custom of the church. A great part of his parish useth not to receive hally-bread. Going on procession, he useth not to rehearse "*Sancta Maria*," nor any other saints' names.

The curate of Much Mongam, going on procession, refuseth, and will in no wise sing nor say the Litany in such manner as all other curates do.

Reflections upon the former presentments.

All these collections I have made out of the original of this visitation of the archbishop. Wherein may be seen the particular matters in these times vented and tossed about in the pulpits; the trifling way of popish preaching, consisting in ridiculous lying fables and stories, as is used still in the popish countries; and with how much more solidity, truth, and reason, the sermons of those who favoured the gospel were replenished. We may observe

[q] [See above, p. 77.]

here also, how diligent our archbishop was in his care of his diocese, and the pains he took to come to a perfect detection of his clergy, in order to their regulation, and divers other things, which an ingenious reader will take notice of.

The archbishop had all the prebendaries and preachers before him in his consistory at Croydon on Trinity-Sunday was twelvemonth; where he argued with them, instructed, rebuked, exhorted them, according as he saw needful for every man, with relation unto the articles above said. He told Serles, who had preached in favour of images in churches, as representatives of saints, and not idols, "That *imago* and *idolum* was one thing; but the one was the Latin, the other the Greek." To which Gardiner, a prebend of the church, replied, "that he did not think that an image and an idol was one, but that an image, not abused with honour, is an image, and not an idol." This saying of the archbishop did so gall them, that they took occasion after, in their sermons, to confute it. And they lyingly reported in Canterbury, that the archbishop should say, he would be even with Gardiner, or that Gardiner should repent his reasoning with him. Whereas 109
all that Cranmer said was, that the communication that Gardiner had that day should be repeated again at his grace's coming to Canterbury. The same day the archbishop told them, that he had set in their church six preachers, three of the old learning, and three of the new. Now Gardiner told him, he thought that would not be for the most quietness in preachers. The archbishop replied, that he had shewed the king's grace what he had done in that matter, and that the king's pleasure was that it should be so. He then also gave them warning, that none should inveigh against others in their sermons.

The prebendaries, and preachers admonished by the archbishop.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A BLACK CLOUD OVER THE ARCHBISHOP.

The prebendaries plot against the archbishop.

Soon after this, a great and black cloud hung over our archbishop's head, that threatened to break upon him in thunder and lightning. The prebendaries and others of the church of Canterbury, for the most part, were addicted to the pope and the old superstitions; which the archbishop's endeavour to abolish, and to bring in truer knowledge of religion among them, caused them to do what they could to oppose him. And indeed they usually carried themselves disobligingly enough to him; which made him say to one of them, viz. Gardiner, alias Sandwich, "You and your company hold me short; but I will hold you as short." They seemed now to have a fair advantage against him, upon account of the statute of the Six Articles, which the king at this time stood much upon the execution of; and did give out, that he required justices and others, his officers, in their several places, to give notice of all disobedience against it. The bishop of Winchester[r] also was now in great favour with the king, a constant adversary to Canterbury, and implacably set against the new learning, as it was then called. He thought to take this opportunity to deal so effectually with the king, as to get the gospel destroyed, and all that adhered to it. And moreover, about this time was given out a saying ordinarily, that "the bishop of Winchester had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer[s]:" meaning, as the issue made manifest, the arch-

[r] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[s] ["When the time drew nigh that the king's majesty, (who was newly married to that good and virtuous lady Katherine Parr), should make his progress abroad,

bishop of Canterbury and queen Katherine Parr, and others of the court.

And to carry on his purpose, he, being a privy-counsellor himself, had an understanding with some of the council, who were of his mind, and ready to second these his ends: as among the rest was Baker, the chancellor of the court of augmentations. These were his confidants at home. Abroad, to be his solicitor and his great agitator, he had a very fit man for his purpose, one Dr. London, warden of New College, Oxon, prebend of Shipton in the church of Sarum, canon of Windsor, and dean of Oseney[t], a very busy zealot: who was in his time the great contriver and practiser of mischief against good men that could not comply with papal superstitions. He was one of the three that some years before now prosecuted most rigorously the good students in the cardinal's college, when by imprisonment and hard usage several of them died. But this man was met with, not long after this suffering public shame for perjury, and died in a gaol. At one and the same time Winchester, with this his trusty partner London, was driving on two games together: the one was to bring into trouble several of the king's own court, that were favourers of the gospel; not liking that such should be so near the king: and the other was to overthrow the good archbishop, and his friends in his diocese of Canterbury, and to extinguish that light of the gospel that began notably to shine there.

Winchester the chief manager.

110

the foresaid Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swing about the king as he did. Wherewith the gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked every hour to be clapt in the neck. For the saying went abroad that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1218. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[t] [See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 230, 382, 489.]

Winchester designs the death of divers of the court.

For the compassing the first, they procured among them a special sessions to be held at Windsor: wherein they not only, upon the Six Articles, condemned four poor honest men, viz. Persons, Filmer, Testwood, and Marbeck, whereof the three former were burnt to death; but they drew up a bundle of indictments against a very great many, and some of eminency about the king, as Cardin and Hobby, knights, of the king's privy chamber; with the ladies Harman and Welden, Snowbal and his wife, and a great many more of the king's true and peaceable subjects. One Ockham, that served for clerk of the peace at that time, had these indictments ready to carry them to the chief patron of these plots, the bishop of Winchester. But this design, notwithstanding the privacy and crafty contrivance of it, took not effect; but he rather brought himself into disgrace thereby. For one Fulk, belonging unto the queen, being at sessions at Windsor at that time, and observing what was done, hastily rode to court, and discovered to the persons concerned what was hatching against them, letting them know, that Ockham was coming with his indictments to the bishop of Winchester; who, as soon as he had received them, would without doubt have laid them before the king and his council. But by this seasonable notice they waylaid Ockham, and Cardin and others seized him, and all his papers, as soon as he came to court, before he got to Winchester. These papers were perused by some of the privy council; and seeing what large numbers, it may be, of themselves and of their friends, as well as others, were indicted, and designed for death, they thought fit to acquaint the king with it. And he, not liking such bloody doings, gave them all a pardon:

Foxe.[u]

[u] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1211 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583.]

and observing how Winchester was the great agent in all this, never liked him after.

And of the archbishop and his friends.

But Winchester and London had other irons in the fire against the archbishop and his friends at and about Canterbury: and particularly Dr. Ridley, a prebendary, Scory, Lancelot Ridley, and Drum, three of the preachers. And to bring mischief upon these, by the instigation of Winchester and practice of London, several of the prebendaries, and some of the six preachers, combine in a resolution to draw up accusations, both against the archbishop and against his friends. But neither did this Winchester's second plot succeed, but rather drew shame upon himself, and those that assisted in it.

The papers relating to archbishop Cranmer's accusation.

There is a volume in the Benet College library, entitled, "*Accusatio Cranmeri*[v];" wherein are contained the rough papers of the examinations that were taken of these accusers of the archbishop; the interrogatories put to them, their confessions and submissions to the archbishop. Upon which papers this was writ by the hand of archbishop Parker, in whose possession they afterwards came; viz. 111

"*Memorandum*, that king Henry, being divers times by bishop Gardiner informed against bishop Cranmer, and the said Gardiner having his instructions of one Dr. London, a stout and filthy prebendary of Windsor, who there convicted [of perjury] did wear a paper openly, and rode through the town with his face toward the horse-tail; and also had information of Mr. Moyles, Mr. Baker, and of some others promoted by the said Cranmer; (whose tales he uttered to the king); perceiving the malice, trusted the said Cranmer with the examination of these matters; which he did of divers persons, as by this doth appear."

The contents thereof.

Hence I have carefully extracted some particulars that I

[v] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cxxviii. p. 203.]

may give a particular account of this exquisite piece of malice; which aimed at nothing less than this good man's life, and that they might make him tread the same path with his friend Crumwel two or three years before, as a reward of his endeavours in setting forward a reformation in the church.

The canons and preachers of Canterbury.

But first I will set down the names of the prebendaries and preachers of the cathedral church of Canterbury, because we shall have occasion often to mention divers of them.

Canons of Canterbury, anno 1543.

Richard Thornden, suffragan of Dover; Arthur Sentleger; Richard Parkhurst, parson of Leneham; Nicolas Ridley, John Meines, Hugh Glazier, William Hunt, William Gardiner, John Milles, John Daniel, Robert Goldson, John Baptist.

The Six Preachers.

Robert Serles, vicar of Charing, Michael Drum, Lancelot Ridley, John Scory, Edmund Shether, Thomas Brooke.

Many of these he had himself preferred, and was a special good lord unto. And yet such was the ingratitude of several of them, that they voluntarily yielded to be made tools to carry on this wicked machination against him. The names of the chief actors were Thornden, who lived in the archbishop's family, and eat at his table, and with whom he used to converse most familiarly: Gardiner, whom Cranmer had taken as his own child; and he had resigned up himself to him with heart, body, and service, as he once solemnly professed to the archbishop: Sentleger, Milles, Parkhurst, Serles, and Shether; and one Dr. Willoughby, beneficed in Kent, and the king's chaplain.

Cranmer's

Their first attempt, which they made was to prefer bills

of accusation against the archbishop's chaplains and preachers, viz. the two Ridleys, Scory, Turner, Bland, Drum, Lancaster, and others: and slantingly through their sides striking at the archbishop himself. This they did to the justices at their sessions, upon the statute of the Six Articles. And that by the suggestion of London; who thought it convenient that the articles should first be carried to the sessions, and from thence returned to the council board. Willoughby, being the king's chaplain, and a man of some quality, was prevailed with to present the articles to the justices, and to make them willing to meddle in this affair, which otherwise they had no great stomach to do, fearing they might draw the king's displeasure upon themselves. Willoughby, by the direction of London, told Moyle and Thwaits, and the other their fellow-justices, that they should be shent for suffering such preaching and contention without doing any thing therein to stop it. And this was that they drove at; that after these articles were preferred from the justices up to court, and seen and read by the king and council, a commission should then be obtained: and such put into the commission as might effectually take order with the preachers. And these three prebendaries, Parkhurst, Gardiner, and Milles, they laboured especially to be put in commissioners: and that the archbishop himself should be left out: for so London had promised.

chaplains complained of at the sessions.

112

Their next care was to prepare the articles. Gardiner and Serles are extraordinary diligent in this work, and had been gathering matter a good space before. The writings were finished at justice Moyle's house: and Willoughby seems to be the man that offered the bill in court. They dealt earnestly with Baro, clerk of the peace, to draw up the indictment against the good men complained of in their bill of articles, (the chief whereof were John

They prepare the articles, and prefer them.

Bland and Richard Turner), but he denied it. And when the jury, that were to be sworn, came, they took them not orderly as they stood in the panel, but overleaped some of them, and left them unsworn, that they might be sure to have such men as would do their business. After they had proceeded thus far, their next care was to get their articles sent up to the court, and laid before the king and council.

They article against the archbishop himself.

And to these foresaid articles they drew up another book against the archbishop himself, the matter being first plotted between Dr. London and Serles, a discontented man, lately imprisoned. And this created them a new diligence, and divers journeys from Kent to London to take their instructions, and from London to Kent to get their informations. And there was at last a parcel of articles, (trifles for the most part,) raked out of the dunghill, picked up any where and from any person, without proof: for they had nothing to shew for the truth of them but hearsay and report, and scarcely that. Serles inveigles Dr. Willoughby into this business, and brings him into acquaintance with Dr. London: in whose house the articles are first read, to whom it was propounded to present them. But when Serles had said, that the things mentioned in the articles were such as were openly spoken, Willoughby replied, "Though he heard such things, he was not sure they were true; and there was no record to affirm them true, no witnesses' hands being subscribed:" and so made a great boggle at presenting them, and put Serles upon that work. But London urged Willoughby to carry them to the council, telling him, that it would be a matter of great danger for him, being so near the king,
113 if he should not give information of such ill things in that country where he lived; especially knowing the king's pleasure that such matters should not be concealed, but

that complaint should be made of them to him, and to his council. And he bade him not fear, for that he himself had made such a spectacle[a] at Windsor in bringing to light abominable heresies, (meaning in causing those three poor men to be burnt, and indicting so many more their maintainers), whereat the king, he said, was astonished, and angry both with the doers and bearers. And therefore if he should now shrink, he should shew himself to be no true subject. Upon these words, which created some fear in Willoughby, if he should decline what London put him on to do, he was content to present them.

London's practices.

Thus having gotten a person ready for this part of the drudgery, to prefer the complaints against the archbishop, London writ them over again, and added other new articles as he pleased. Which Serles himself liked not: but London said he meant, by putting in some things, to bring the matter before the justices, and certain of the spirituality, for his purpose. Matters, many of them, of mere untruth, and not so much as the pretence of a rumour for. But he told Willoughby and Serles, that it should never be known to be their doings. And so Willoughby took the old copy with him into Kent, to get it recorded, and signed with hands: and London sent a copy to the bishop of Winchester. Willoughby being now at Canterbury about this business, requiring the prebendaries to sign the articles, they all refused. Up rode Willoughby to London again, and acquaints Dr. London therewith with a heavy heart. Then he began another practice, to tamper with the justices, bidding Willoughby let them know, that the king would

[a] Little thinking what a spectacle he was soon after to make there, when he was carried on horseback through the town, with a paper upon his head declaring his perjury, and his face to the horse's tail.

be angry with them for taking no more notice of the disorders in Kent. London went also himself to Moyle's lodging, a leading justice then in Kent, and talked with him, exhorting him to forward this work against the archbishop; telling him, that he himself had taken up my lord of Canterbury before the council: meaning thereby to signify to him, that he needed not to fear him so much as he seemed to do, or his interest at the court. Upon this Moyle sent to several other gentlemen and justices to search out for any priests that wanted a crown, [as a reward for their information,] who should inquire about the country for what things were rumoured against the archbishop: and so as many rumours and bruits as were brought were presently turned into articles. But Moyle warily sent all the reports that came to his hand to the archbishop, not so much out of good-will to him, as that he might pretend to discharge his duty in giving information to the diocesan of abuses in his diocese: thereby also reckoning to avert the displeasure of the archbishop from himself. But this London liked not of, and told him he would mar all.

A great mass of articles against the archbishop procured.

At length Serles and Willoughby had got together a mass of accusations; whether true or false mattered not, but a great heap they made. For these two were the chief collectors of articles, both at Canterbury and other places in Kent: London having advised them to get as much matter as could be devised; for it would be the goodliest deed, as he said, and the most bounden
114 act to the king, that ever they did. These reports were digested into two or three books. Serles brought up some of the articles roughly drawn to London; and London transcribed them, and brought them to the bishop of Winchester: and there they were copied out by German Gardiner, his secretary, another busy man.

Gardiner, the prebendary, by this time had gotten a book of articles, signed by the rest of the prebendaries, and Willoughby brought them up: some of the prebendaries coming up too, being about to be the presenters of the book themselves. Winchester and Baker, chancellor of the court of augmentations, gave the said prebendaries encouragement to proceed in what they went about. And busy London, to make the articles the better entertained, when they should be presented to the council, had officiously shewn the copy of them to several of the said council beforehand.

The chief instruments. Gardiner.

I must here give this further note concerning Serles: that he was so zealous a man, that he had the year before put up to the council articles against the preachers of the Gospel: but they were such that the council thought not fit the king should see them. Which he complained of; and it seems at his return was clapt up in prison for his pains, for some either malicious insinuations or irregular practices herein.

Serles.

Shether was another of the gang, and one of the forwardest in this invidious business against the innocent archbishop. He was one of those that came up to London to present the bill. It may be guessed what a hotheaded man he was, by a passage we meet with concerning him when he was proctor at Oxford in the year 1535. In which year he made such a combustion betwixt the university and the townsmen, that they being enraged against him, he went in danger of his life. So that he and his company were fain to go armed when they went abroad. And when he was out of his proctorship, the university allowed him to defend himself from the townsmen at the university charge, if he should be set upon by them. This Shether brought up

Shether. Fasti Oxon. p. 686.[b]

[b] [See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Fasti.) vol. ii. col. 99. Ed. Bliss. 1813–20.]

also his collections to one Ford, his brother-in-law, to write them out: which amounted to a great book of two days' labour. For they were resolved to have enough; and to make out in bulk what was wanting in truth.

The bishop of Winchester's discourse with a prebendary of Canterbury.

Take an hint or two here of Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the secret machine in all this ungrateful work. Coming once from the council, that then was beyond the sea at Calais, about the time of the breach with France, he, after hearing mass at the cathedral church at Canterbury, took his namesake Gardiner the prebendary by the hand, and asked him how he did, and how they did in Canterbury; meaning in relation to religion professed in the city. And when Gardiner answered, "But meetly;" he inquired, how they did within the house among themselves, with relation to the churchmen belonging to it. He told him, that they did not agree all in preaching. "So do I hear," said Winchester. Then he asked, wherein they did not agree. Gardiner then repeated somewhat of Ridley's and Scory's sermons: and this among other things, "That prayer ought to be
115 made in a tongue known, and not in a tongue unknown; for so it were but babbling." Winchester then said, "He missed: for the Germans themselves are now against that saying. Well," said he, "this is not well. My lord of Canterbury will look after this, I doubt not, or else such preaching will grow unto an evil inconvenience: I know well he will see remedy for it. Well, how do you do with them?" Gardiner replied, "My lord, hardly: I am much marked in my sermons: and I cannot tell whether I be taken or no. I pray your good lordship of your counsel, what were best for me to do. I had rather leave preaching betimes, than to be taken in my sermons." Then said Winchester, "Do thus: write your sermons into a book, every word, as you will preach

it; and when you go into the pulpit, deliver your book unto the chiefest man there that can read, and let him take heed of your book while you do preach, and say no more but that you have written and studied for: and I warrant you you shall do well enough. And when you do hear any man preach any otherwise than well, hold you contented, and meddle not; so shall you do best." Then he passed forth his time in communication concerning the ordinances of their choir, their statutes, their masses, and hours of them. And at the last sent for Ridley the prebendary, and had some conference with him: but what, it is uncertain.

Willoughby and London wait at the council-chamber.

The bulky articles being at last hammered out and made ready, London now required Willoughby to deliver them to the council; which he would fain have shrunk from. He then charged him upon his allegiance to go with him to the council-chamber door, meaning to have him into the council. Having gotten him there, he went in, and informed some of the privy council, (and friends, I suppose, to the matter,) that Dr. Willoughby was without, desiring he might be called in. Willoughby was before instructed by London to use words to the council to this tenor, when he should deliver his articles: viz. "That the king and they had been at great charges, and taken great pains to set a good and godly way among them, [meaning the statute of the Six Articles:] and for all that they had with them in Kent the most enormous heresies. And because he heard, that it was the king's will and pleasure that every man, on pain of his allegiance, should bring in what he knew, or else, if he knew and did conceal it, it should be his damage; therefore, in discharge of his duty, he came to tender that bill of articles." But this speech was not delivered that day, the council not

being at leisure. And lest some people, knowing the pragmatical temper of London, might be jealous what he did at the court, and suspect it was for no good to the professors of the gospel, it was studiously given out, that he was there for some promotion from the king.

Willoughby brought to the lord privy seal, and to Winchester.

The next day the sedulous man carried Willoughby to the lord privy seal, [lord Russel, if I mistake not,] with his articles; but neither would my lord privy seal see them, having no leisure, as he pretended: I suppose, because he liked them not, and loved my lord of Canterbury. The day after, London carried him to the bishop of Winchester: in to whom he went and tarried
116 an hour, carrying in the copy of the articles: in which time, no question, the bishop and his trusty substitute contrived for the managing of the matter. Soon after Willoughby being with Winchester, and desiring him that he might not be put to present the articles, not being able to testify to the truth of them, Winchester bade him "fear not to do his duty: and that if the matter were not to be abiden by, the doers should bear the blame, and not the presenter. And that it was all our duties to stand in such things as were contrary to the king's injunctions." But notwithstanding Willoughby got himself excused, and delivered them not; but the prebendaries soon after Easter did.

The contents of the articles against the archbishop.

The articles are not specified in the papers I use; but by the interrogatories and other passages, it appears that some of them were these that follow: "That he rebuked Serles for that he preached, that images might be permitted in the church as representatives of saints, and not be idols. Item, that the archbishop spake openly before all the prebendaries and preachers in consistory, that the king's pleasure was to have the six preachers consist of three of the new learning and three of the old. Item,

that Serles and Shether underwent censure laid upon them by the archbishop for somewhat they had preached, when the honesty of their audience offered themselves to testify that they were falsely accused, and that that which was laid against them was not true: and although they were a great number, yet they could not be admitted. That they were innocent preachers, and, being innocent, were condemned, the one to prison, and the other to read a declaration of false surmised articles. Item, that those that would speak against evil opinions dared not; for if they did, they were complained of, and called seditious persons, stirring the people to commotion: and complaining to their ordinary, they got nothing but displeasure; and the evil preachers had much more favour and boldness. Item, that there were two images of Christ, and two of our lady, that were taken down; whereunto was neither oblation, nor any lights standing before them."

More articles against his commissary.

Other articles, which were of Serles' own collecting, as appears by the interrogatories that Cranmer, under his own hand, had prepared to put to him, were such as these, and were chiefly against the archbishop's commissary. "That there were a great number of evil preachers in Canterbury diocese. That the archbishop's commissary, [Dr. Leigh,] in his visitation commanded that the wax-candles, blessed upon Candlemas-day, should not be delivered unto the people. That holy water should not be borne, nor cast into men's houses. That in some churches, by the commissary's command, all the images were pulled down, and hewed with axes. That the commissary was most conversant with abjured persons, and others suspect of heresy, aiding, maintaining, and succouring them. That Joanna Bochier was delivered by the favour of the commissary." [Whereas indeed she was by the king's pardon. This is she that was afterwards burnt for

Arianism in king Edward's days.] "That one Giles came to Canterbury, in a courtier's coat and beard, being a priest, and there lodged ten days. And one Hardes, a
117 justice, complained of him to the commissary, but the commissary did nothing." [Whereas in truth he was not a priest, but a layman.] "That a tailor in Canterbury did openly read and expound the Scripture in his own house; and open resort thither was suffered by the commissary. That the master of St. John's in Canterbury at his death refused to receive, and despised the blessed sacrament: and yet, by the sufferance of the commissary, was both buried like a true Christian, and also was of very many praised for a good and holy man. That Mr. Bland, in communication with Mr. Sponer, vicar of Boughton, denied auricular confession to be requisite, and delivered his opinion to the said Sponer in writing; which the commissary hearing, desired Sponer to let him see the writing, swearing that he would not keep it from him: but when he had the bill, he put it into his purse. That the commissary resigned a benefice to the said Bland, binding Bland and his successor, by a writing made under the hand of my lord of Canterbury and the chapter, to pay unto him and his assigns a great part of the clear yearly value for many years." This was the sum of Serles' articles: but most of them were found to be frivolous and false.

More still. Articles yet more against our archbishop were, "That he held a constant correspondence with Germany, sending letters thither, and receiving letters thence." That he gave out a great many exhibitions in Germany, and had many pensioners there." (In relation to which there seemed to be a design carrying on, that the bishop of Winchester should seize some of these letters of the archbishop: for Gardiner told him whose hands they

passed through, namely, one Fuller of Canterbury, and that if the said bishop would send for him, and command him upon his allegiance, he should know more: or at least, that he might make use of Fuller for a witness to serve to prove this article.) Moreover, they put in their articles, "That his grace's sister was a milner's wife, and that she and her husband lived nine or ten years together in Canterbury. And then that she married to one Mr. Bingham, her former husband being yet alive: and that Mr. Commissary married her daughter. And though he were thus a married priest, yet he was joined with Mr. Dean [Wotton] to be one of the proctors of the clergy in the convocation-house; and not of their election, but that it was obtained by the interest of his affinity."

The chief witnesses and persons concerned as vouchers and informers were, Roper, Balthazar a chirurgeon, Heywood, Moor, Beckinsal, German Gardiner. The witnesses.

At length, after much ado, some of the prebendaries, in the name of the church of Canterbury, delivered in to the council, not long after Easter, the articles swelled to a good quantity of paper. And so they came at last into the king's hand. Having received them, he bade Baker, the chancellor of the court of augmentation, a Kentish man, being one of the privy council, and a privado in this matter, to send to Canterbury for some to prove the articles. The said chancellor orders the dean, ignorant of the matter, to send to Shether and Serles to come up as secretly as might be to London. Being come up, Shether repairs to the dean; who bad him, with Gardiner and Parkhurst, to go to the chancellor, who sent for them. Being come before him, he said to them, "That the king had a book against the archbishop delivered to him; which he had himself per- The prebendaries deliver the articles. 118

used. And because that he perceived, that they could say somewhat, wishing also for Serles, (who was not yet come,) he told them the king willed them to say what they knew, fearing no person, but to dread only one God and one king." Whereupon they took the book, and drew out such articles as they could witness of. He bad them return to Canterbury, and provide the witnesses there; and that Shether the youngest should come back again, after he had perfected the book in the day and year, and to bring it with him. From him they applied again to the bishop of Winchester[v], the great wheel, and shewed him what Baker had said to them.

[v] [Stephen Gardiner.]

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE KING THE ARCHBISHOP'S FRIEND IN THIS DANGER.

The king himself discovers all to the archbishop.

The archbishop desires a commission.

The king well perceiving the malice of the men, and a plot contrived against an honest and innocent man, strengthened with the favour and aid of Winchester, and several of the counsellors, and the imminent danger the archbishop was in, except he himself did interpose, it pleased God to turn the king's heart to him. So he put the book of articles in his sleeve; and passing one evening in his barge, by Lambeth-bridge, the archbishop standing at the stairs to do his duty to his majesty, he called him into the barge to him; and, accosting him with these words, "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent," communicated to him these matters, shewing him the book of articles against him and his chaplains, and bad him peruse it. This both surprised and troubled the archbishop not a little, that those of his own church, and justices of the peace, whom he had obliged, should deal so treacherously with him. He kneeled down to the king, and, well knowing how false the articles were, desired him to grant a commission to whomsoever it pleased him, to try the truth of these accusations, so as from the highest to the lowest they might be well punished, if they had done otherwise than became them. The king told him, "he would grant a commission, and that such affiance and confidence he had in his fidelity, that he should be the chief commissioner himself, to whom he would wholly commit the examination, with two or three more such as he should choose." When the archbishop replied, that it would not seem indifferent to make him a com-

missioner, who was a party accused; the king told him, "that he was sure he would not halt with him, although he were driven to accuse himself; but would speak the truth of himself, if he had offended." The king added, that he knew partly how the matter came about, [namely, by Winchester's subtle means,] and that if he handled the matter wisely, he should find a pretty conspiracy against him. The king named but one, viz. Dr. Belhouse, to be in the commission; and the archbishop named Dr. John Cocks, his vicar-general,
119 and Anthony Hussey, his register. The commission was made out of hand, and he was commanded to go himself into Kent upon it: and the king commanded the commissioners particularly, that it should be sifted out, who was the first occasion of this accusation. Presently every one that had meddled in this detection shrunk away, and gave over their hold.

The archbishop in commission expostulates with his accusers.

The archbishop came to Feversham himself, and there, as it seems, sat upon the commission, and drew up some interrogatories with his own hand for some of these informers; and having summoned these accusers before him, argued and expostulated meekly and sometimes earnestly, with them; chiefly insisting upon their ingratitude and disingenuity with him. He asked Sentleger if he were at home on Palm-Sunday? (that was the day when the prebendaries signed the articles.) Sentleger saying he was then at his benefice, the archbishop declared the *procession done that day*, as he called it; and said, whether he and the rest were present that day, they were all knit in a bond among them which he would break: adding in a passionate way of expression, "O Mr. Sentleger, I had in you, and Mr. Parkhurst a good judgment, and especially in you; but ye will not leave your old mumpsimus." To which Sentleger boldly replied that he

trusted they used no mumpsimuses, but those that were consonant to the laws of God and the prince. And with Shether, one of the busiest enemies the archbishop had in this affair, the archbishop so fatherly discoursed and argued, that Shether could not forbear weeping. He and Serles, two of the chief agents, were committed to custody.

Shether in prison sends to Winchester.

But Shether presently dispatcheth his servant to the bishop of Winchester, declaring how he and Serles were in durance, and recommended their case to him. Winchester went into the council-chamber, probably to try his interest with the council to get them released. But it seems he soon perceived how the king stood affected, and so there was nothing yet to be done: and therefore he told the servant, he could give him no answer as yet. A day or two after at the servant's departing, he told him, "That his master was a child for weeping to the archbishop, when he should have answered; and that he should not weep for shame, but answer like a man; and that he should take a good heart, for he should have friends. That he would not forget him: but he must know of the council first what to do; and so desired the servant to have him recommended to the prebendaries all in general; bidding him tell them, that my lord of Canterbury could not kill them, and that therefore they should bear their sufferings; for all he did was against himself, and that he should see what would come of it." Ford, a brother-in-law of Shether's, and a party, told the servant, "That he should tell his brother that he should never recant; for if he did, he would never be his friend while he lived, nor none should that he could let; and that my lord of Winchester should be his friend."

Their reasons which they pre-

But to return to the archbishop's examination of them. When he asked them what the reason was of these their

tended for what they did.

doings; they pretended one one thing, and another another. Gardiner said, that which moved him was, because he observed such jarrings among them, and so much unquietness about matters of religion; and that he thought it was by the archbishop's sufferance; which the archbishop convinced him was false. Shether pretended that Baker, the chancellor of the augmentations, had willed him to mark the chief fautors of new opinions. Willoughby desired Dr. Thornton, who was very great with the archbishop, but secretly false to him, that he would let his lordship know, that he never put up article against any man in his life; for that he was charged to have put up, or ready to have put up the articles. Thornton bad him stick to it, and not be afraid; "for," saith he, "I have spoken my mind to the council therein, as I am bound, and so be you, being the king's chaplain."

Cocks and Hussey commissioners, and his officers false.

But the archbishop left the further discovery of this mischief to the diligence of Cocks and Hussey his officers: this was about August. They sat six weeks, saith my manuscript; but, being secret favourers of the papists, handled the matter so, that nothing would be disclosed and espied, but every thing colourably was hid. The archbishop secretly observed this; but Morice, his secretary, wrote to Dr. Butts, the king's physician, and sir Anthony Denny, of his bedchamber, That if the king sent not some others to assist the archbishop than those that were with him, it was not possible any thing should come to light; wishing that Dr. Leigh, or some such other stout man, that had been exercised in the king's ecclesiastical affairs in his visitation, might be sent to him. And Dr. Leigh was soon dispatched with instructions from the king into Kent, with the king's ring, which he delivered to the archbishop on Allhallow-even. And with Dr. Leigh, Dr. Rowland Taylor, another civilian, a bold and stirring man,

was joined, who afterwards was burnt for his constancy in religion.

These new commissioners startled the delinquents; and they began to be very uneasy, and full of anger, as well as fear. One cried, "Thank my lord's grace; that is a way to have quietness in Kent, to have Dr. Leigh there." Of Dr. Taylor they said, "he was a man of an evil judgment, and notified for, and brought up in the same." And another, reflecting upon these men, said, "I would all ambitious knaves were hanged; I would all maintainers of new opinions were hanged; I would all knaves that break orders were hanged; I would all knaves, that are against the commonwealth were hanged." New commissioners sent down.

Hussey the register, who had the examinations of these men, had private conferences with them; and let Serles and Sandwich, (alias Gardiner,) have the copies of their accusations, before they were to be called before Leigh, that they might the better know what answers to make. The Register false.

But to proceed, to see what course Dr. Leigh took. Immediately upon his coming, according to the king's advice, he gave commission to about nine or ten of the archbishop's officers and gentlemen, such as were tried men of wit and audacity, to go and search the purses, chests, and houses of certain prebendaries and gentlemen, viz. such as were deemed, or suspected to be of this confederacy, within the cathedral church and without; and what letters and writings they could find with them to bring to the archbishop and him. The delinquents' chambers, and chests searched.

They all went about their work in the same hour; and 121
within four hours after, the whole conspiracy was discovered, by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London at Oxon, and from justices of the shire. In the chambers and chests of some gentlemen of the county were found letters serving to

The treachery of Thornton, and Barber.

that purpose. And among the rest there came to the archbishop's hand two letters, one of Thornton, and the other of Dr. Barber; whom the archbishop retained with him in household for expedition of matters in suit before him, being his officer, and as a counsellor to him in the law when need required: both promoted by him; Thornton, who was suffragan of Dover, he made prebendary of his church, and whom he always set at his own mess. The archbishop taking them apart, shewed them their letters, and upbraided them with their falseness and ingratitude. They fell down on their knees to the archbishop, and with many tears begged his pardon, acknowledging that they had been a year ago tempted to do what they had done.

The archbishop's discourse to them.

The archbishop before them, casting up his hands to heaven, applied himself to God, thanking him that he had, in the midst of so many enemies and false friends, vouchsafed him one great friend and master, meaning the king, without whose protection, as he said, he were not able to stand upright one day. He prayed God to make them good men, and bad them ask God forgiveness, seeing he had never deserved such usage at their hands. He added, that now he perceived there was no fidelity nor truth among men; and that he was brought to that point, that he feared his left hand would accuse his right: but that he needed not to marvel at it, seeing Christ prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. He prayed God of his mercy to finish that time shortly: and so dismissed them with gentle and comfortable words. And it was observed that there never after appeared, neither in his countenance, nor his words, any remembrance thereof. But he thought fit no more to trust them, and so discharged them of his service. And so he did one Mr. Talbot, another false man, which was also of

Mark xiii. 12. *The brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son: and children shall rise up against their parents, &c.*

his counsel and chamber. But Dr. London took occasion hence to say, that they could tell a shrewd tale, if they were examined; and that it was not for nought they were put out of service: as though the reason were, that they should no more have opportunity of knowing any of the archbishop's doings or sayings.

All the foresaid seized papers and writings were put into a chest, and brought up to Lambeth; the king being minded to peruse them, and to punish the principals. In fine, divers of the chief of the knot were committed to prison, where they remained till the next year, some more closely confined than others; all during the archbishop's pleasure. All that the archbishop required of them was repentance and recantation, and an ingenuous confession of their faults and falseness to him. Abiding for some time under affliction, their spirits began to mollify; and then, by supplicatory letters to the archbishop, they begged his pardon, made their confessions, and desired their liberty. The conspiratorsare imprisoned.

About which time a parliament was at hand. Then great labour was made by their friends for a general pardon from the king, procuring him a subsidy, the easier to obtain it. Which indeed followed, and wiped away all punishment, and correction for their fault. But without the king's indulgence they were like suddenly to have had their liberty by the archbishop's intercession for them, being a man that delighted not in revenge. 122 Their release.

In the before-mentioned manuscript volume, belonging to Benet College, whence I have extracted most of these relations, are remaining the interrogatories prepared for Dr. London, wrote by the archbishop's own hand, together with the humble confessions and letters of Willoughby, Gardiner, Serles, Milles, Sentleger, and others concerned. Some of which I have transcribed into the Appendix. The confessions and letters. Numb. XXXIII.

Gardiner's expressions seemed so penitent, styling the archbishop his father, that it made such an impression upon the archbishop's heart, that when he saw him next, he told him, "Ye call me father; in good faith I will be a father to you indeed." Yet this very man, so ungrateful he was, that soon after this kind reconciliation of the archbishop to him, and, (as it seems,) his deliverance out of prison, he and the rest had fresh communications together again: insomuch that the archbishop was fain to enter upon a new trouble with them, putting them under restraint again, and interrogating them concerning their late communication. Unless this letter of Gardiner writ unto his grace may admit of a more favourable interpretation:

"Most honourable father; unadvisedly, as God shall save me, I have offended your grace; and I think not the contrary, but that some back friend hath done me more hurt and hinderance than I have at your grace's hands deserved. For I know well in mine own conscience I have nothing so highly offended, as I do perceive that your grace is informed of me. In good faith I speak it of my conscience, and before God, I would I were under ground. For now have I lost that, which I never thought to lose again: yea, that of which had I was as glad as ever I was of benefit received in this world, as knoweth my Saviour Christ Jesus: who preserve your grace.

"Yours, Will. Gardiner."

The ends of the conspirators.

But while these things were transacted at Canterbury, on the archbishop's behalf, against these false accusers, Dr. London, one of the great incendiaries, was censured at Windsor. For he, and one Symons a lawyer, and Ockham, that laid traps for others, were catched at length themselves. They were men that busied themselves in

framing indictments upon the Six Articles, against great numbers of those that favoured or professed the gospel, and in sending them to court to Winchester[w], who was to prefer the complaints to the council. The king being more and more informed of their base conspiracies, and disliking their bloody dispositions, commanded the council should search into the matters. And so London and his fellows, being examined before the said council, were in 123
the end found to be perjured in denying, upon their oaths, what they had indeed done, and was proved manifestly to their faces. Hereupon they were adjudged perjured persons, and appointed to ride through Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, where they had done most mischief, with their faces towards the horse-tail, and a paper upon their heads, declaring their crime; and to stand upon the pillory in each of those towns. And that punishment they underwent, and then were sent to the Fleet. London not long after died there, probably out of shame and sorrow: this was the end of one of these conspirators. German Gardiner was a year after hanged, drawn and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the king's supremacy. And the bishop of Winchester after this never had favour or regard of the king more. And Heywood, another of the crew of the informers and witnesses, was condemned for treason with Gardiner; but making a recantation, his life was spared.

[w] [Stephen Gardiner.]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP FALLS INTO MORE TROUBLES.

After this, the archbishop received two terrible shocks more, if I am right in the placing them, as I think I am, though I leave Foxe to follow Morice, the archbishop's secretary, in his manuscript declaration of the said archbishop. The former was a complaint that was made openly against him in parliament; and the latter, when the lords of the privy council accused him unto the king, and required that he should be sent to the tower.

The archbishop accused before the parliament. MS. declaration of archbishop Cranmer.

Sir John Gostwick, a knight for Bedfordshire, a man of great service in his time, but papistical, stood up in the house, and laid to his charge his sermons and lectures, both at Sandwich and Canterbury, containing, as he said, manifest heresy against the sacrament of the altar. Though it was much they should accuse him in that point, seeing he then held a corporeal presence; but it displeased them that it was after the Lutheran way, rather than after theirs of transubstantiation. But the king perceived easily this proceeded of malice, for that he was a stranger in Kent, and had neither heard the archbishop preach nor read there. Knowing thereby that he was set on, and made an instrument to serve other men's purposes; the king marvellously stormed at the matter, calling Gostwick openly *varlet*, and said, "That he had played a villanous part, to abuse in open parliament the primate of the realm, especially being in favour with the prince as he was. What will they do with him," said he, "if I were gone?" Whereupon the king sent word unto Gostwick, by one of his privy-

chamber, after this sort: "Tell the varlet Gostwick, that if he do not acknowledge his fault unto my lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself towards him that he may become his good lord, I will soon both make him a poor Gostwick, and otherwise punish him, to the example of others. He wondered," he said, "he could hear my lord of Canterbury preaching out of 124
Kent, and that if he had been a Kentish-man, he might have had some more shadow to put up an accusation against him." Now Gostwick, hearing of this grievous threat, came with all possible speed unto Lambeth, and there submitted himself in such sorrowful case, that my lord out of hand not only forgave all his offences, but also went directly unto the king for the obtaining of the king's favour; which he obtained very hardly, and upon condition that the king might hear no more of his meddling that way[x]. This happened, I suppose,

[x] ["Such therefore as had conceived deep rancour and displeasure against him, ceased not to prosecute him by all possible means. Then they brought against him a new kind of accusation, and caused sir John Gostwick, knight, a man of contrary religion, to accuse the archbishop openly in the parliament-house, laying to his charge his sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein should be contained manifest heresies against the sacrament of the altar, &c., which accusation came to the king's ear. "Why, (quoth the king,) where dwelleth Gostwick? as I take it either in Bedfordshire or Buckinghamshire, and hath he so open an ear that he can hear my lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent? This is very like," said the king; "if he had been a Kentish-man, there had been something worthy of consideration: but as for Gostwick, I know him well enough, and what good religion he is of. Go to him, and tell him," said the king to one of his privy-chamber, "if he go not to my lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself to him, that he may become his good lord, I will pull the gosling's feathers, so that hereafter he shall have little lust to slander the metropolitan, or any other learned man."

in the parliament that began in January, and continued till March 29, 1544. The archbishop's palace at Canterbury was this year burnt, and therein his brother-in-law, and other men, according to Stow[y].

The palace of Canterbury burnt.

I find no bishops consecrated in this year.

Anno 1544. The council accuse the archbishop.

At length the confederacy of the papists in the privy-council, (whereof I suspect the duke of Norfolk to be one, a great friend of Winchester's[z], by whose instigation this design was set on foot,) came and accused him most grievously unto the king; "That he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with their unsavoury doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable heretics: and that it might prove dangerous to the king, being like to produce such commotions and uproars as were sprung up in Germany. And therefore they desired, that the archbishop might be committed unto the tower, until he might be examined."

When sir John Gostwick heard these words, it was no need to bid him haste himself to Lambeth unto the metropolitan, making to him as many friends as possibly he might. When he came to the archbishop, he was fain to disclose unto him by what means he was procured to do what he did, requesting his clemency, to be his good lord, or else he took himself utterly undone, being so in the king's indignation, as he understood he was by that afore declared; which suit was soon won at his hand: and so the archbishop, casting into the satchel behind him all those sir John Gostwick's ingratitudes, went to the king; and won to sir John his prince's favour again. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1867. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[y] ["The 18 of December, [A. D. 1543,] the archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Canterbury was brent, and therein was brent his brother-in-law, and other men."—Stow's Annals, pp. 584, 5. ed. Lond. 1631.]

[z] [Stephen Gardiner. For a full account of this conspiracy against archbishop Cranmer, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1866, 7.]

The king was very strait in granting this. They told him, "That the archbishop being one of the privy-council, no man dared to object matter against him, unless he were first committed to durance; which being done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and say their consciences." Upon this persuasion of theirs, the king granted unto them that they should call him the next day before them, and, as they saw cause, so to commit him to the Tower.

The king sends privately for the archbishop.

At midnight, about eleven of the clock, before the day he should appear before the council, the king sent Mr. Denny to my lord at Lambeth, willing him incontinently to come over to Westminster to him. The archbishop was in bed, but rose straightway and repaired to the king, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. Being come, the king declared unto him what he had done, in giving liberty to the council to commit him to prison: for that they bare him in hand, that he and his learned men had sown such doctrine in the realm, that all men almost were infected with heresy; and that no man durst bring matter against him, being at liberty, and one of the council. And therefore I have granted to their request, said the king; but whether I have done well or no, what say you, my lord? The archbishop first humbly thanked the king that it had pleased him to give him that warning beforehand: and that he was very well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, so that he might be indifferently heard; as he doubted not but that his majesty would see him so to be used. Whereat the king cried out, "O Lord God, what fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advan- 125
tage against you! Do not you know, that when they

have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which else, now being at liberty, dare not once open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not so, my lord," said the king, "I have better regard unto you than to permit your enemies so to overthrow you: and therefore I will have you to-morrow come to the council, which no doubt will send for you: and, when they break this matter unto you, require them, that, being one of them, you may have so much favour as they would have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought before you. And if they stand with you, without regard of your allegations, and will in no condition condescend unto your request, but will needs commit you to the Tower, then appeal you from them to our person, and give to them this my ring;" (which he then delivered unto the archbishop;) "by the which," said the king, "they shall well understand that I have taken your cause into my hand from them. Which ring they well know, that I use it for no other purpose, but to call matters from the council into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." And with this good advice, Cranmer, after most humble thanks, departed from the king's majesty.

Comes before the council.

The next morning, according to the king's monition, and his own expectation, the council sent for him by eight of the clock in the morning. And when he came to the council-chamber door, he was not permitted to enter into the council-chamber, but stood without among serving men and lacqueys above three quarters of an hour; many counsellors and others going in and out. The matter seemed strange unto his secretary, who then attended upon him; which made him slip away to Dr. Butts, to whom he related the manner of the thing: who by and

bye came, and kept my lord company. And yet, ere he was called into the council, Dr. Butts went to the king, and told him, that he had seen a strange sight. "What is that?" said the king. "Marry," said he, "my lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a serving man: for to my knowledge he hath stood among them this hour almost at the council-chamber door." "Have they served my lord so? It is well enough," said the king; "I shall talk with them by and bye." Anon Cranmer was called into the council: there it was declared unto him, that a great complaint was made of him, both to the king and to them. That he, and others by his permission, had infected the whole realm with heresy: and therefore it was the king's pleasure that they should commit him to the Tower, and there for his trial, to be examined. Cranmer required, as is before declared, with many both reasons and persuasions, that he might have his accusers come there before them, before they used any further extremity against him. In fine, there was no entreaty could serve, but that he must needs depart to the Tower. "I am sorry, my lords," said Cranmer, "that you drive me unto this exigent, to appeal from you to the king's majesty; who by this token hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof:" and so delivered the king's 126
ring unto them. By and bye the lord Russel swore a great oath, and said, "Did not I tell you, my lords, what would come of this matter? I know right well that the king would never permit my lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason." And so, as the manner was, when they had once received that ring, they left off their matter, and went all unto the king's person, both with his token and the cause.

When they came unto his highness, the king said unto The king rebukes the

council for Cranmer.

them, "Ah, my lords, I thought that I had had a discreet and wise council; but now I perceive that I am deceived. How have you handled here my lord of Canterbury? What make ye of him? A slave? shutting him out of the council-chamber among serving-men! Would ye be so handled yourselves?" And after such taunting words as these spoken, the king added, "I would you should well understand, that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto God;" and so laid his hand upon his breast. "And therefore who loveth me," said he, "will upon that account regard him." And with these words all, and especially my lord of Norfolk, answered and said, "We meant no manner of hurt unto my lord of Canterbury, that we requested to have him in durance: which we only did, because he might, after his trial, be set at liberty to his greater glory." "Well," said the king, "I pray you use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice among you one to another; let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you." And so the king departed, and the lords shook hands every man with the archbishop: against whom never more after durst any man spurn during king Henry's life. And because the king would have love always nourished between the lords of the council and the archbishop, he would send them divers times to dinner with him. And so he did after this reconciliation.

The king changes the archbishop's arms.

Thus did the king interpose himself divers times between his archbishop and his irreconcilable enemies, the papists: and observing by these essays against him, under what perils he was like to come hereafter for his religion, about this time it was, as I conjecture, that the king

changed his coat of arms*. For unto the year 1543 he bore his paternal coat, of three cranes sable, as I find by a date set under his arms, yet remaining in a window in Lambeth-house. For it is to be noted, that the king, perceiving how much ado Cranmer would have in the defence of his religion, altered the three cranes, which were parcel of his ancestors' arms, into three pelicans, declaring unto him, "That those birds should signify unto him, that he ought to be ready, as the pelican is, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ. For," said the king, "you are like to be tasted, if you stand to your tackling at length." As in very deed many and sundry times he was shouldered at, both in this king's reign, as you have heard, and under the two succeeding princes.

* Whereas it was conjectured there, that the king changed archbishop Cranmer's coat of arms about 1544, it must have been several years before; for his new coat of the Pelicans may be seen in the frontispiece of the great English Bible, printed 1540. And how long before that time, I know not. [*From the Errata and Emendations to the first Edition.*]

127

CHAPTER XXIX.

OCCASIONAL PRAYERS AND SUFFRAGES.

Occasional prayers and suffrages, to be used throughout all churches, began now to be more usual than formerly. For these common devotions were twice this year appointed by authority, as they had been once the last; which I look upon the archbishop to be the great instrument in procuring: that he might by this means, by little and little, bring into use prayer in the English tongue, which he so much desired: and that the people, by understanding part of their prayers, might be the more desirous to have their whole service rendered intelligible; whereby God might be served with the more seriousness and true devotion.

Prayers to be made against immoderate rain.

The last year there was a plentiful crop upon the ground: but when the time of harvest drew near, there happened a great plague of rain. So in August letters were issued out from the king to the archbishop, that he should appoint certain prayers to be used for the ceasing of the wet weather; and to write to the rest of the province to do the like. But hear the king's letter:

Cranm. Regist. [fol. 22. a.][a]

"Most reverend father in God, right trusty, and right entirely beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as there hath been now a late, and still continueth, much rain, and other unseasonable weather, whereby is like to ensue great hurt and damage to the corn, and fruits now ripe upon the ground, unless it shall please God, of his

[b] [See also Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 868, 9. and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 493. Park. Soc. ed.]

infinite goodness, to stretch forth his holy hand over us: considering, by sundry examples heretofore, that God, at the contemplation of [the] earnest and devout prayers, ofttimes extended his mercy and grace; and hath also assuredly promised, that whensoever we call upon him for things meet for us, he will grant unto us the same: we, having the governance and charge of his people committed unto us, have thought good to cause the same to be exhorted by you, and other the prelates of this our realm, with an earnest repentant heart for their iniquities, to call unto God for mercy; and with devout and humble prayer and supplications, every person, both by himself apart, and also by Common Prayer, to beseech him to send unto us such seasonable and temperate weather, to have in those fruits and corn on the ground, which hitherto he hath caused so plenteously to grow.

"For the which purpose we require you, and nevertheless command you, to send unto all your brethren, the bishops within your province, to cause such general rogations and processions to be made incontinently within their dioceses, as in like case heretofore hath been accustomed in this behalf accordingly.

"Yeven under our signet, at our manor of the Moore, the 20th day of August, the xxxv year of our reign."

The archbishop accordingly sent his order, dated August 23, 1543, to Edmund, bishop of London, that there might be prayers and supplications in his diocese every fourth and sixth days of the week. And the like order was dispatched to all the other bishops in his province; "by their prayers, as was accustomed, to implore God's mercy to avert his wrath, that the people had justly de- 128

served. And not to cease their prayers and suffrages till further order from him[c]."

English suffrages commanded to be used.

It is not so evident that these prayers were in the

[c] [The following is the form of the letters sent by the archbishop to the bishop of London and the other bishops. "Literæ Regis, et Archiepiscopi Cantuar' Mandatum Episcopo London' pro Orationibus pro Cessatione Pluviæ. THOMAS, &c. venerabili confratri nostro domino Edmundo, eadem permissione Londinensi episcopo, vestrove vicario in spiritualibus generali, et officiali principali, salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas supradicti invictissimi domini nostri regis nuper recepimus, tenorem subsequentem continentes:"—here follows the letter of the king given above, after which the document thus continues: "Quibus quidem literis pro nostro erga suæ regiæ majestatis excellentiam officio obtemperare, uti par est, summopere cupientes, vestræ fraternitati tenore præsentium committimus, et regiæ majestatis vice et nomine, quibus in hac parte fungimur, mandamus, quatenus attentis præmissis sævientis pestis rigore et bellorum tumultibus, quibus orbis Christianus inpræsentiarum, proh dolor! undique æstuat: omnibus et singulis confratribus nostris, coepiscopis nostris, et ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cantuarien' suffraganeis, cum ea qua poteritis celeritate accommoda præcipiatis, ut ipsorum singuli in suis cathedralibus et civitatum et diœcesium suarum parochialibus ecclesiis, exposito publice literarum regiarum hujuscemodi pio et sancto tenore, clericos et laicos infra suas diœceses degentes, sedulo et accurate moveant et inducant, aut moveri et induci faciant sanctis monitis et salubribus præceptis; (atque sic a vobis in civitate et diœcesi vestra London' fieri volumus), qualibet quarta et sexta feriis publicis supplicationibus et suffragiis Altissimum devote adorent, eorumque precibus, uti fieri assuevit, suam immensam misericordiam implorent, quatenus in ira sua, quam nostris male meritis juste provocavimus, misericordiæ suæ recordatus, quibus offensus hujuscemodi super nos merito, immisit afflictiones, propitiatus misericorditer nobis resipiscentibus submoveat: ab orationibus et suffragiis hujuscemodi non cessantes, donec aliud a nobis in hac parte habueritis in mandatis. Dat' in manerio nostro de Croydon 23 die mensis Augusti, anno Domini MDXLIII. nostræ consecrationis anno undecimo." See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 868, 9. and abp. Cranmer's works, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 493. Park. Soc. ed.]

English tongue: but in the year following, viz. 1544, there were, without controversy, certain suffrages drawn up in our mother-tongue by the archbishop's means, which he intended to be universally observed everywhere. Upon the archbishop's pious motions, as it seems, the king issued out his letters to him, dated in June, for the publication of these prayers in English, to be from thenceforth continually used in the church; together with setting forth the king's injunctions, by preaching and good exhortation, that the people, who before did but slackly observe their devotions, for want of understanding the divine service, might henceforth more frequently and more fervently resort to religious worship.

The contents of the king's letter to that intent. Cranm. Regist. fol. 48.

I shall not here set down the king's letter, as I transcribed it out of archbishop Cranmer's register, because bishop Burnet hath printed it already in his first volume, among the Collections, pag. 264[d]. It runs in such a pious strain, as though none but the archbishop had been the suggester thereof: "That since at that time Christendom was plagued with wars, hatred, and dissensions[e], and in no place was peace and agreement: and since it was out of the power of man to redress these miseries, God alone being able to restore peace, and unite men's hearts; therefore the king was resolved to have general processions used in all churches, with all reverence and devotion of the people. And because the not understanding the prayers and suffrages formerly used caused that the people came but slackly to the processions; therefore the king now had published certain prayers in our native tongue:

[d] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. part ii. B. iii. No. 28. pp. 398, 9. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[e] ["Henry VIII. was now at war with France and Scotland, and was on the point of invading the former country in conjunction with the emperor Charles V." Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 320. n. r.]

which he, with his present letter, had sent to the archbishop, for the special trust and confidence he had of his godly mind, and the earnest desire that was in him for the setting forth of God's glory, and the true worshipping of his name. And that these prayers should not be observed for a month or two, as his other injunctions had been, but that they, together with the injunctions, should be earnestly set forth by preaching, good exhortation, and otherwise; in such sort as they might feel the godly taste thereof, and godly and joyously with thanks receive, embrace, and frequent the same. Commanding the archbishop, that he should not only cause the same suffrages to be used in his own diocese, but signify the king's pleasure in this regard to all other bishops of his province. And that he should have a special respect hereunto, and make report, if any did not with good dexterity accomplish the same. It was given under the king's signet, at his manor of St. James', June 11, in the 36th of his reign[f]." I have not met with these suffrages[g]; which if I
129 had, I should have been inclined to publish them here; and the rather, because I believe they were of Cranmer's own composing.

[f] [See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 869, 70. and abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 494, 5.]

[g] [Burnet and Todd suppose these prayers and suffrages formed the litany, published June 16, A. D. 1544, by Thomas Barthelet, "Cum privilegio," of which the following is the title: 'A Letany with Suffrages to be sayd or sung in Time of Processions. With an Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by the King and his Clergy to be read to the People in every Church, afore Processions.' See Ames' Typogr. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 450. ed. Dibdin. Lond. 1810—1819. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. iii. p. 315, 16. ed. Oxon. 1829. Todd's Life of archbp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 354. "The Litany contained in it was inserted in the Primer of 1545, and differs but little from that still in use." Jenkyns' Remains of archbp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 321, n. s.]

According to this letter, the archbishop dispersed his letters to Edmund bishop of London, and the other bishops, with a copy of the suffrages to be used; urging withal the observation of all the king's injunctions heretofore promulgated for the confirming and establishing of sacred religion[h].

[h] [The following is the form of the letters sent in this case, as in the former, (see p. 280. above), to the bishop of London, and the other bishops:

"Literæ Regiæ Archiepiscopo Cantuar. pro Publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum. Thomas, permissione divina, &c. illustrissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Henrici Octavi, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, ac in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremi capitis, auctoritate legitime fulcitus, venerabili confratri nostro domino Edmundo, eadem permissione Londinensi episcopo, salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas supradicti invictissimi domini nostri regis, manu sua signatas, et signeto suo obsignatas, nobis inscriptas, et ad nos datas, nuper debitis cum honore et reverentia accepimus, tenorem subsequentem complectentes:" here follows the letter given above, after which the document thus continues: "Nos vero pro nostra erga suam celsitudinem observantia, toto pectore affectantes literis et mandatis suis regiis, uti decet, obtemperare, volentesque pro debito nostri officii omnem curam et solertem nostram in commissis et demandatis, a sua majestate adhibere diligentiam, vobis pro parte regiæ suæ majestatis, tenore præsentium mandamus et præcipiendo injungimus, quatenus, receptis præsentibus, non solum injunctiones omnes regias ad sacrosanctam religionem firmandam et stabiliendam antehac per auctoritatem regiam promulgatas, cum omni reverentia observandas edicatis et mandetis; verum etiam omni sedulitate et celeritate accomodis sancta hæc suffragia, et salubres orationes, quarum unum exemplar præsentibus annexum vobis per latorem præsentium mittimus, tum quidem in omnibus et singulis ecclesiis cathedralibus, collegiatis, et parochialibus per diœcesim et jurisdictionem vestras Londoniensis ubilibet sitis et existentibus, tum etiam ab omnibus et singulis aliis episcopis, et confratribus nostris, nostræ Cantuarien' provinciæ suffraganeis, ubilibet locorum per diœceses et jurisdictiones suas juxta et secundum literarum regiarum suprascriptarum tenorem et continentiam, in omnibus et per omnia exponi, declarari, denunciari, cantari, dici, publicari, et observari facias et faciant, et fieri

A procession for the king's expedition.

About August this year, the king was upon going himself in person to invade France, against which nation he was now in hostility; and had prepared a mighty army by land and sea for that purpose. Now the archbishop was again called upon by the privy counsellors to appoint processions in the English tongue through the realm, for the king's good success in this great expedition. The council's letter ran in this tenor[i]:

The council's letter to the archbishop. Regist. Cranm. [fol. 26. b.]

"After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship: these shall be to signify unto the same, that the king's highness having so provided for the safety of his grace's realm, as the great malice of his enemies shall, by the grace of God, take small effect[k]: for the repulsing of which, his highness hath in a readiness to set abroad, at the furthest on Wednesday next[l], such a puissant navy

sedulo procures et procurent. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est impensum. Dat' [decimo] octavo die mensis Junii, anno Domini MDXLIV. et nostræ consecrationis anno XII." Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 869, 70. ex Reg. Cran. f. 48. b. and abp. Cranmer's works, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 494, 5. Park. Soc. ed.]

[i] [The date of this letter in Cranmer's Register is A. D. 1545. Strype places it under A. D. 1544, which is evidently an error.]

[k] ["The 21. July [A. D. 1545.] the French galleys and navy came afore Portsmouth haven, and landed certain of their army in the Isle of Wight, at St. Helen's point, and there burned and encamped about 2000 men; but they were soon driven away with loss of their captain, and many soldiers. Within few days after, the whole fleet removed from the Wight to a place in Sussex, called Newhaven, four miles from Lewes, and there landed many captains and soldiers, who, by the valiantness of the gentlemen, and yeomen of Sussex, were slain and drowned in the haven a great number of them and the rest hardly recovered their ships and galleys." Stow's Annals, p. 589. ed. Lond. 1615.]

[l] ["I trust in God that we shall depart hence (Portsmouth) upon Tuesday (August 11th), if the wind will serve us." State Papers, letter ccxxv. John Dudley, lord Lisle, to Paget, dated Au-

as hath not been seen assembled in the remembrance of man[m]: considering nevertheless that all victories and good successes come[th] only at the direction and appointment of God, following herein that trade[n] of such a Christian prince, as he is, hath devised to have processions throughout the realm in such sort as in like cases hath heretofore laudably been accustomed. Requiring your lordship therefore to take order incontinently, that from henceforth, through your province[o], the said processions be kept continually upon the accustomed days, and none otherwise; and sung or said, as the number of the quire shall serve for the same, in the English tongue; to the intent that there may be an uniformity in every place.

gust 9. p. 808. "At this present it may like your majesty that the enemies and we have sight one of the other, striving who shall get the advantage of the wind." Id. letter ccxxvii. Lisle to Henry VIII. dated Aug. 15, p. 815. No "engagement, however, took place; for they say it is not possible for their army to return any more to the sea this year, both for scarcity of victuals, and for lack of men. For the most part of these that have been out had rather be hanged than go forth again. There is no manner of courage, nor gladness, nor appearance of comfort among them. The common people, (talking as they dare), grudgeth, saying, their king hath been at great charges, and nothing done." Id. letter ccxxxii. Lisle to Henry VIII. dated August 21, p. 823. "In September the English fleet in their turn made a descent on the coast of Normandy." "My lord of Canterbury, having required certain pieces of artillery to be drawn to and from sundry places upon the cliffs, with horses at the charge of the country, for the repelling of the enemies, shall be furnished of the same, if Mr. Seymour, upon view of the places, shall think it expedient." Id. Report of the "State of Things," &c. p. 786.]

[m] ["This 'puissant navy' consisted of 104 sail, carrying 12,738 men. The names of the vessels and of their captains, their tonnage, and the number of their crews, with the orders issued on sailing, will be found in the State Papers, vol. i. p. 810." Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 323, n. y.]

[n] ["Herein the trade." Cran. Reg.]

[o] ["Throughout your province." Id.]

Whereby it may please God at all times to prosper his majesty in all his affairs: and the rather, to have regard at this time unto the uprightness of his grace's quarrel, and to send his highness victorious success of the same. And thus we bid your lordship most heartily well to fare. From Petworth, the 10th day of August.

"Your lordship's assured loving friends,

"W. Essex, St. Winton, Ant. Brown, Will. Paget."

The copy of this letter the archbishop dispatched to the bishop of London[p]; and in a letter of his own, he

[p] [The following is the "Mandate by the archbishop of Canterbury to the bishop of London for keeping processions in English: Thomas, permissione divina, &c. venerabili confratri nostro domino Edmundo permissione eadem London' episcopo, &c. vestrove vicario in spiritualibus generali et officiali principali, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas missivas clarissimorum et prudentissimorum dominorum de privatis consiliis suæ regiæ majestatis manibus subscriptas, nobis inscriptas et per equos dispositos [advectas,] nuper recepimus, tenorem sequentem complectentes:"—here follows the letter given above; after which the mandate thus proceeds: "Quibus pro nostro officio obtemperare, uti decet, summopere cupientes, vestræ fraternitati tenore præsentium committimus, et regiæ majestatis vice et nomine, quibus fungimur, mandamus, quatenus attentis diligenter literarum hujuscemodi tenore et bellorum tam terrestrium quam maritimorum tumultibus, quibus hoc inclitum regnum Angliæ undique per mare et terram tum in Gallia et Scotia, tum in partibus Boloniæ assidue infestatur et gravatur, omnibus et singulis confratribus, coepiscopis nostris et ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cant' suffraganeis, cum ea qua poteritis celeritate accommoda præcipiatis, ut ipsorum singuli, in suis cathedralibus et civitatum ac diœc' suarum parochialibus ecclesiis, exposito publice literarum hujuscemodi pio et sancto tenore, clericos et laicos infra suas diœc' degentes sedulo et accurate moveant et inducant, aut moveri et induci sanctis monitionibus et salubribus præceptis faciant, (atque sic a vobis in civitate et diœc' London' fieri volumus), qualibet quarta et sexta feria publicis supplicationibus et suffragiis dudum Angliæ [sermone] conceptis et publicatis, concinna modulatione et una

first stirred him up to take care of making due provisions for the religious performance of these prayers in his diocese, upon consideration of the king's great wars by land and sea, and his wars in France, in Scotland, and in the parts about Boulogne. Then he enjoined him, and all the bishops in his province, every fourth and sixth day, to retire to prayer and supplication to God; and that the people should, as he wrote, "*Concinna modulatione et una* 130
voce cunctipotentem Deum Sabaoth, omnis victoriæ largitorem unicum, sancte et pie, non labiis, sed corde puro adorent: In becoming harmony, and with one voice, holily and piously, not with the lips, but with a pure heart, adore the almighty God of Sabaoth, the only giver of all victory."

Popery prevails.

And in these smaller matters our archbishop was fain now to be contented to busy himself, since about this juncture Winton[q] or his party had the ascendant, and did all at court. Concerning these latter times of king

voce, cunctipotentem Deum Sabaoth, omnis victoriæ largitorem unicum, sancte et pie, non labiis sed corde puro adorent, et precibus in perpetuum ipsius auxilium implorent; quatenus eidem domino nostro regi, exercitubus et classi suæ navali, (quam non solum ad propulsandos verum etiam ad opprimendos et profligandos hostium suorum sceleratos cornatus habet instructissimam), de immensa misericordia et justitia suis, victoriam pariter et triumphum, clementer et benigne in tam probato certantibus agone largiri et concedere dignetur, ut devictis hostibus nostris, et rebus ex sententia feliciter gestis, illi concordibus animis assidue hymnos cantemus triumphales. Quibus vos tantisper volumus immorari, quoad aliud a nobis inde habueritis in mandatis: vos etiam harum scire in Domino hortamur. Quod si quid superiori anno in his orationibus decantandis et dicendis a vestris gregibus fuerit oscitanter omissum, id nunc resarcire et in melius reformare, habita hujus turbulentæ tempestatis congrua ratione, summo studio prout fieri confidimus curetis. Bene valeatis, frater charissime. Ex ædibus nostris de Bekysborne nostræ Cant' diœc' 11° Aug. A.D. 1545, et nostræ consecr' an' 13." Cranm. Regist. f. 26. b.]

[q] [Stephen Gardiner.]

Henry, when the popish bishops carried all before them again; and the acts of parliament that were made, whereby the bishops were empowered to call sessions as oft as they would, to try those that gave not due obedience to the superstitions of the church, and that upon pain of treason; thus John Bale complains, whose words may give us some light into the sad condition of these times: "Still remaineth there soul-masses, of all abominations the principal; their prodigious sacrifices, their censings of idols, their boyish processions, their uncommanded worshippings, and their confessions in the ear, of all traitery the fountain; with many other strange observations, which the Scripture[s] of God knoweth not. Nothing is brought as yet to Christ's clear institution and sincere ordinance, but all remaineth still as the antichrists left it. Nothing is tried by God's word, but by the ancient authority of fathers. Now passeth all under their title. Though the old bishops of Rome were of late years proved antichrists, and their names razed out of our books; yet must they thus properly, for old acquaintance, be called still our fathers. If it were naught afore, I think it is now much worse; for now are they become laudable ceremonies, whereas beforetime they were but ceremonies alone. Now are they become *necessary rights, godly constitutions, seemly usages,* and *civil ordinances,* whereas afore they had no such names. And he that disobeyeth them shall not only be judged a felon, and worthy to be hanged, by their new-forged laws, but also condemned for a traitor against the king[t], though he never in his life hindered, but rather to his power hath forwarded[u], the commonwealth. To put this[x], with such-

Image of both churches[r].

[r] [Bale's Image of both the Churches. Annot. in Rev. xiii.]

[s] ["Whom the Scripture." Bale.]

[t] ["His king." Id.]

[u] ["Hath furthered." Id.]

[x] ["To see this." Id.]

like, in execution, the bishops have authority, every month in the year if they list, to call a session, to hang and burn at their pleasure. And this is ratified and confirmed by act of parliament, to stand the more in effect."

Gardiner and the bishops now carry all.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had, by his policy and interest, brought things thus backward again, and exalted the power of the bishops, that of late years had been much eclipsed. And so he plainly told one Seton, a man of eminency in these times both for piety and learning in London, who met with troubles there, about the year 1541, for a sermon preached at St. Anthony against justification by works. This Seton being now, it seems, fallen into new troubles, and brought before the aforesaid bishop; when he was able no longer to withstand the manifest truth, said to him, "Mr. Seton, we know ye are learned, and plenteously endued with knowledge in the Scriptures; yet think not that ye shall overcome us. No, no, set your heart at rest, and look never to have it said, that ye have overcome the bishops: 131 for it shall not be so."

Bishop of Landaff removed to York.

Robert Holgate, bishop of Landaff, was this year preferred to the see of York[u]. His confirmation is mentioned in the archbishop of Canterbury's register: wherein is set down an oath, which he then took, of renunciation of the pope, and acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, very full and large. Afterwards I find the same oath adminis-

[u] ["Robert Holgate, bishop of Landaff," succeeded Edward Lee as archbishop of York, who died Sep. 13, 1544; "he was translated to this see, to which he was elected January 10, confirmed at Lambeth the 16th, and had the temporalities restored the 30th of the same month, 154$\frac{4}{5}$. In the beginning of Q. Mary's reign he was deprived," and succeeded by Nicholas Heath, bishop of Worcester. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 310.]

tered to Kitchin, elect of Landaff[z], and Ridley, elect of Rochester[a], and Farrar, of St. David's[b]. But I think it not unworthy to be here set down as I find it, seeming to be a new form drawn up, to be henceforth taken by all bishops. And this archbishop of York the first that took it.

The archbishop's oath. Cranm. Regist.[c] [fol. 309. a.]

"I Robert archbishop of York elect, having now the veil of darkness of the usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction of the see and bishop of Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that neither the see, nor the bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potestate, hath, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, or authority within this realm, neither by God's law nor by any just law or means. And though by sufferance and abusions in times past, they aforesaid have usurped and vindicated a feigned and unlawful power

[z] ["Anthony Kitchen, alias Dunstan, S. T. P. was elected March 26, 1545, (in the room of Robert Holgate,) confirmed May 2, consecrated next day, and had the temporalities restored May 8. He died October 31, 1566." Id. p. 522.]

[a] [Nicholas Ridley, S.T.P., succeeded Henry Holbeach, translated to Lincoln, "was consecrated September 5, 1547, had the temporalities restored the 27th of the same month, and April 1, 1550, was translated to London. He was inthronized the 12th of the same month; but upon queen Mary's coming to the crown, he was outed of his bishopric, imprisoned, condemned at Oxford the 20th April 1554, and lastly there burnt for the constant profession of his faith, the 16th of October, 1555." Id. pp. 180, 251.]

[b] [Robert Ferrar, S. T. B. succeeded William Barlow, (formerly bishop of St. Asaph, but translated to St. David's April 10, 1536, and to Bath and Wells Febr. 3, 1547), "had restitution of the temporalities made to him July 1, 1548, and was consecrated at Chertsey, September 9 following. He was deprived March 20, 1553, and at length suffered martyrdom at Caermarthen, March 30, 1555." Id. pp. 22, 33, 514.]

[c] [See Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. pp. 870, 1.]

and jurisdiction within this realm, which hath been supported till few years past; therefore, because it might be deemed[d] and thought thereby that I took, or take it for just and good, I therefore do now clearly and frankly renounce, forsake, refuse, and relinquish that pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction, both of the see and bishop of Rome and of all other forcign powers: and that I shall never consent, nor agree that the foresaid see, or bishop of Rome, or any of their successors, shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's realms or dominions; nor any foreign potestate, of what state, degree, or condition he be; but that I shall resist the same to the uttermost of my power; and that I shall bear faith, troth and true allegiance to the king's majesty, and to his heirs and successors declared, or hereafter to be declared, by the authority of the act made in the sessions of his parliament holden at Westminster the 14th day of January, in the 35th year[e], and in the act made in the 28th year of the king's majesty's reign[f]. And that I shall accept, repute, and take, the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, when they or any of them shall enjoy his place, to be the only supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland in earth under God, and all other his highness' dominions. And that with my body, cunning, wit, and uttermost of my power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, I shall observe, keep,

[d] ["Might be denied." Wilkins.]

[e] [i. e. "The act concerning the establishment of the king's majesty's succession" in the imperial crown of the realm. 35° Hen. VIII. c. 1. Statutes of the realm, vol. iii. pp. 955–958.]

[f] [i. e. "An act for the establishment of the succession of the imperial crown of this realm." 28° Hen. VIII. c. 7. Id. vol. iii. pp. 655–662.]

maintain, and defend all the king's majesty's styles, titles, and rights, with the whole effects[g] and contents of the acts provided for the same, and all other acts and statutes made and to be made within the realm[h], in and for that purpose, and the derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the usurped and pretended authority, power, and
132 jurisdiction of the see, and bishop of Rome, and all other foreign potestates as afore; and also as well his statute[i] made in the said 28th year, as his statute[k] made in the [said session of the] parliament holden in the 35th year of the king's majesty's reign, for establishment and declaration of his highness' succession, and all acts and statutes made and to be made in confirmation and corroboration of the king's majesty's power and supremacy in earth, of his Church of England and of Ireland, and all other his grace's[l] dominions; I shall also defend and maintain with my body and goods, with all my wit and power. And thus I shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be[m]; and in no wise do nor attempt, nor to my power suffer or know to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation of any of the said statutes, or any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for or by any manner of pretence. And in case any oath hath been made by me to any person or persons in maintenance, defence, or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, or against any the statutes aforesaid, I repute the same as vain and annihilate.

[g] ["With these effects." Wilkins.]

[h] ["Or to be made within this realm." Id.]

[i] ["As well the said statute." Id.]

[k] ["As the statute." Id.]

[l] ["And other his grace's." Id.]

[m] ["Or condition they be." Id.]

I shall wholly observe and keep this oath. So help me God, and all saints, and the holy evangeles[n]."

And then, after this oath, followed the prayers before the benediction of the pall, and the ceremonies of delivering it.

[n] ["God, all saints, and the holy evangelists." Id.]

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ARCHBISHOP REFORMETH THE CANON LAW.

Ann. 1545. The archbishop sets upon reforming the canon law.

Our archbishop, seeing the great evil and inconvenience of canons and papal laws, which were still in force, and studied much in the kingdom, had in his mind now a good while to get them suppressed, or to reduce them into a narrower compass, and to cull out of them a set of just and wholesome laws, that should serve for the government of the ecclesiastical state. And indeed there was great need of some reformation of these laws: for most of them extolled the pope unmeasurably, and made his power to be above that of emperors and kings. Some of them were, "That he that acknowledged not himself to be under the bishop of Rome, and that the pope is ordained of God to have the primacy over the world, is an heretic. That princes' laws if they be against the canons and decrees of the bishop of Rome, be of no force. That all the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually, as God's word spoken by the mouth of Peter. That all kings, bishops, and noblemen, that believe or suffer the bishop of Rome's decrees in any thing to be violated, are accursed. That the see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle:" and abundance of the like which the archbishop himself drew out of the canon laws, and are set down by the bishop of Sarum in his history[o].

Part i. Among the Collections, p. 257.

133 Therefore, by the archbishop's motion and advice, the

[o] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. part ii. b. 3. No. 27. pp. 391–398. ed. Oxon. 1829. The archbishop's collection of tenets from the canon law will be found in the Appendix.]

king had an act passed the last year, viz. 1544[p], "That his majesty should have authority, during his life, to name thirty-two persons, that is to say, sixteen spiritual and sixteen temporal, to examine all canons, constitutions, and ordinances, provincial and synodal, and to draw up such laws ecclesiastical as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be used in all spiritual courts." According to this act, though it seems this nomination happened some time before the making of the same, the king nominated several persons to study and prepare a scheme of good laws for the church; who brought their business to a conclusion, and so it rested for a time. The archbishop being now to go down into Kent, to meet some commissioners at Sittingbourn, went to Hampton Court to take his leave of the king: there he put him in mind of these ecclesiastical laws, and urged him to ratify them. So the king had him dispatch to him the names of the persons, (which had been chiefly left to Cranmer's election), and the book they had made. This care he, going out of town, left with Heath, bishop of Rochester.

An act concerning it.

So that these laws, by the great pains of the archbishop and some learned men about him, were brought to that good perfection, that they wanted nothing but the confirmation of the king. And there was a letter drawn up ready for that purpose for the king to sign. It was directed to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, clerks, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, and all others, of whatsoever degree, his subjects and liegemen: giving them to understand, "That in the room of the corrupt laws, decrees, and statutes, that proceeded from

The progress made by the archbishop in this work.

[p] [i. e. "A Bill for the examination of Canon Laws by thirty-two persons to be named by the king's majesty." 35° Hen. VIII. c. 16.—Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 976.]

the bishops of Rome, which were all abolished, he had put forth by his authority another set of ecclesiastical laws, which he required to be observed, under pain of his indignation." The copy of this letter may be read in the Num. XXXIV. Appendix. But whatsoever the matter was, whether it were the king's other business, or the secret oppositions of bishop Gardiner and the papists, this letter was not signed by the king.

The MSS. of these laws. Inter Foxii MSS.[q]

I have seen the digest of these ecclesiastical laws in a manuscript in folio, fairly written out by the archbishop's secretary, with the title to each chapter prefixed, and the index of the chapters at the beginning, both of the archbishop's own hand. In many places there be his own corrections and additions, and sometimes a cross by him struck through divers lines. And so he proceeded a good way in the book. And where the archbishop left off, Peter Martyr went on, by his order, to revise the rest in the method he had begun. And in the title, "*De Præscriptionibus,*" the greatest part of the seventh chapter is Martyr's own writing[r], viz. beginning at this word "*Rumpitur,*" which is in page 248, of the printed book, line 23[s], and so to the end of the chapter. So that this manuscript, I conjecture, was the first draught of these laws, prepared in the reign of king Henry, and revised in the reign of king Edward his successor, when Peter Martyr was appointed by that king's letters to be one of those that were to be employed in this work; who was much at this time with the archbishop. In this draught were several chapters afterwards added, partly by Cran-
134 mer and partly by Martyr. There was yet a latter and more perfect draught of these laws, as they were com-

Reformatio Legum Ecclesiast. Lond. 1640.

[q] [Harl. MSS. 426. Plut. lxvi. c. British Museum. Original.]

[r] [Id. fol. 211.]

[s] [P. 124. b. lin. 22. ed. Lond. 1571.]

pleted and finished in king Edward's reign. This draught fell into the possession of archbishop Parker; from whence he published the book in the year 1571, intituling it, "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, &c.*" which was printed again in the year 1640. Both these manuscript draughts were diligently compared together by John Foxe; and the main difference seemed to consist in putting the latter into a new method, and placing the titles differently.

The archbishop labours in this work under king Edward.

For in this matter Cranmer was much busied in king Edward's reign also, being greatly desirous to bring that good work to perfection. For he thought it greatly inconvenient, when the pope's power was abrogated, that his laws should remain in force; holding it highly necessary that the nation might have a body of wholesome laws for the good administration of justice in the spiritual courts. Wherefore he procured, in the fifth year of that king, letters commissional to him, and seven more, diligently to set about the perusal of the old church laws; and then to compile such a body of laws as should seem, in their judgments, most expedient to be practised in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions: these seven were, Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely; Richard Cox, the king's almoner; Peter Martyr, William May, Rowland Taylor, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrich. But the matter was in effect wholly intrusted by the king to the archbishop, who associated to himself in the active part of this work Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon. The method they observed in managing this affair was, that after they had finished a title, and drawn it up, it was then sent to Dr. Haddon, who was a civilian, and an accurate Latinist, to peruse; and if any thing was less elegantly expressed, to correct it. So I find at the title "*De Decimis,*" these words writ by Cranmer; "This is finished by us, but must be over-

seen again by Dr. Haddon." Thus, for instance, I observe these corrections by Haddon's pen in the chapter intituled, "*De Commodis quæ perveniunt a sacris ritibus :*" instead of "*Gratiarum actionis mulierum a partu,*" he corrected it, "*Levatarum puerperarum :*" and in another place, "*Cuicunque hoc prærogativum est,*" instead of "*hoc prærogativum,*" he put, "*hoc peculiare jus tribuitur, quod prærogativum vocant.*" But his corrections are very few, and but of words less proper: the work and words were mainly Cranmer's own. But all this great and long labour of the archbishop came to no effect by reason of the king's untimely death, and, it may be, the secret opposition of papists.

The archbishop employed in mending books of service.

At the same time that he, being at Hampton Court, dealt with the king concerning the reformation of the canon laws, he also gave him an account of a business his majesty had employed him in, and with him also Heath and Day, bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and some other of his chaplains and learned men; whom he had of late appointed, with the archbishop, to peruse certain books of service, delivered by the king to them, wherein there were many superstitions fit to be amended. Which the archbishop, in the name of the rest, at this time acquainted the king with: as namely, the vigil, and ringing
135 of bells all the night long upon Allhallow-night; and the covering of images in the church in the time of Lent, with the lifting the veil that covereth the cross on Palm-Sunday, and kneeling to the cross at the same time. He moved the king in his own name, and the name of the rest, that these things might be abolished, and the superstitions, and other enormities and abuses of the same. And that because all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly used; yet for the manifold superstitions and abuses, which did after grow by means

of the same, were many years past taken away throughout Christendom, and there remained nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, saving only upon Allhallow-day at night, he moved that it might be observed no more. And because creeping to the cross was a greater abuse than any of the other, (for there the people said, "*Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine :*" and the ordinal saith, "*Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus :*" and it followeth in the said ordinal, "*Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur,*" which by the bishops' book, intituled, "*A necessary Instruction,*" is against the second commandment), therefore he desired of the king that the creeping to the cross might also cease hereafter[t].

[t] [The following is the "minute of the king's majesty's letters to be addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury."—"Forasmuch as you, as well in your own name as in the name of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with you to peruse certain books of service which we delivered unto you, moved us, that the vigil, and ringing of bells all the night long upon Allhallow-day at night, and the covering of images in the church in time of Lent, with the lifting up of the veil that covereth the cross upon Palm Sunday, with the kneeling to the cross the same time, might be abolished and put away, for the superstition and other enormities and abuses of the same: First, forasmuch as all the vigils of our lady and the apostles, and all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly used, yet for the manifold superstition and abuses which after did grow by means of the same, they be many years passed taken away throughout all Christendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, the thing clearly abolished and put away, saving only upon Allhallow-day at night, upon which night is kept vigil, watching, and ringing of bells all the night long; forasmuch as that vigil is abused as other vigils were, our pleasure is, as you require, that the said vigils shall be abolished as the other be, and that there shall be no watching, nor ringing, but as be commonly used upon other holy days at night. We be contented and pleased also, that the images in the churches shall not be covered, as hath been ac-

The king consults with the archbishop for the redress of certain superstitions.

These superstitious usages were allowed in the articles of religion put forth anno 1536, Cranmer then not having interest enough to procure the laying them aside, or thinking it then not a fitting season to attempt it, as being in vain to oppose what the king himself at that time approved of. But now the king listened to the archbishop, and bad him confer with the bishop of Worcester[u], and send to him their thoughts, what course they would advise him to take for redress. The archbishop accordingly consulted with the said bishop, who then went along with Cranmer in the reformation. The effect of which was, as the archbishop wrote to the king soon after from Beakesbourne, "That his Majesty should send his letters to both the archbishops to reform these superstitions; and they to send in the king's name to all the prelates within their respective provinces to the same purpose." The archbishop withal sent to the king the minutes of a letter to be sent to him, the said arch-

customed in times passed; nor no veil upon the cross; nor no kneeling thereto upon Palm Sunday, nor any other time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any of the other; (for there you say, "*Crucem tuam adoramus Domine;*" and the ordinal saith, "*Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus;*" and after followeth in the same ordinal, "*Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur;*" which by your own book, called, "A Necessary Doctrine," is against the second commandment): therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth and be abolished, with the other abuses before rehearsed. And this we will and straitly command you to signify unto all the prelates and bishops of your province of Canterbury, charging them, in our name, to see the same executed, every one in his diocese, accordingly."—See Domestic Papers, A. D. 1546. vol. viii. State Paper Office. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. part ii. b. i. pp. 334, 5. ed. Oxon. 1829. Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. v. pp. 138, 9. ed. Lond. 1840, 41. Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 414. Park. Soc. ed.]

[u] [Nicholas Heath.]

bishop, to that intent. He also advised the king, that at the same time that this alteration was commanded to be made, he should set forth some doctrine which should declare the cause of the abolishing these usages, for the satisfaction of the consciences of the people. For he knew well, as he wrote, that the people would think the honour of Christ was taken away, when this honouring of the cross was taken away: and therefore that they should need some good instruction herein. He nominated the bishops of Worcester and Chichester[x], and some other his grace's chaplains, for the preparing this: "and this," he said, "would make the people obey him without murmuring, nay, be thankful to him for shewing them the truth: and it would be a satisfaction to other nations, when they should see the king do nothing but by the authority of God's word, and for the setting forth of God's honour, and not the diminishing thereof." This letter of the archbishop to the king is extant in the [State] Paper-office, whence the bishop of Sarum extracted a copy[y].

Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 236.

[x] [George Day.]

[y] [The following is the copy of the letter to the king's majesty above referred to, which is preserved in the State Paper Office, Domestic Papers, A. D. 1546. vol. viii. and has been printed in Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. b. i. No. 61. pp. 332–4. ed. Oxon. 1829. "It may please your highness to be advertised, that forasmuch as I might not tarry myself at London, because I had appointed the next day after that I departed from your majesty to be at Rochester, to meet the next morning all the commissioners of Kent at Sittingbourn; therefore the same night that I returned from Hampton Court to Lambhith, I sent for the bishop of Worcester incontinently, and declared unto him all this your majesty's pleasure, in such things as your majesty willed me to be done. And first, where your majesty's pleasure was, to have the names of such persons as your highness in times passed appointed to make laws ecclesiastical for your grace's realm,* the bishop of Worcester promised

* [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 661; vol. iii. p. 308.]

136 These things were agitated in the bishop of Winchester's[z] absence, whom the king had sent ambassador this

The opportunity of Winchester's absence taken.

me with all speed to inquire out their names and the book which they made, and to bring the names, and also the book unto your majesty; which I trust he hath done before this time.

"And as concerning the ringing of bells upon Allhallow-day at night, and covering of images in Lent, and creeping to the cross, he thought it necessary that a letter of your majesty's pleasure therein should be sent by your grace unto the two archbishops; and we to send the same to all other prelates within your grace's realm. And if it be your majesty's pleasure so to do, I have, for more speed, herein drawn a minute of a letter, which your majesty may alter at your pleasure. Nevertheless, in my opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there would be set forth some doctrine therewith, which should declare the cause of the abolishing or alteration, for to satisfy the conscience of the people: for if the honouring of the cross, as creeping and kneeling thereunto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant, that the honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them sufficiently therein: which if your majesty command the bishops of Worcester and Chichester with other your grace's chaplains to make, the people shall obey your majesty's commandment willingly, giving thanks to your majesty if they know the truth; which else they would obey with murmuration and grudging. And it shall be a satisfaction unto all other nations, when they shall see your majesty do nothing but by the authority of God's word, and to the setting forth of God's honour, and not diminishing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your majesty in his preservation and governance. And thus, &c. From my manor at Bekisbourne, the 24th of January, 45. [1545–6†.]

"Your grace's most bounden chaplain and beadsman."

[z] [Stephen Gardiner.]

† [The date of the original paper preserved in the State Paper Office, (and from which the above documents are printed as they stand, and contrary to the position given to them by Burnet), is 45, i. e. 1545. The date has been enlarged by Burnet to 1545, 6. Mr. Todd is inclined to reduce it to 1544, 5. But it is probable that Burnet is accurate, as Foxe, under A. D. 1546, gives the following narrative of the matter to which the above letters refer: "Whilst the said bishop of Winchester [Gardiner] was now remaining beyond the seas about the affairs aforesaid," [i. e. to conclude a league

year, with the bishop of Westminster[a], to Charles the emperor, about the mediation of a peace between Eng-

[a] [Thomas Thirlby.]

between Henry VIII., the emperor Charles V., and Francis I. the French king, 'in whose absence the archbishop of Canterbury sought occasion somewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion,'] "the king's majesty and the said archbishop having conference together for reformation of some superstitious enormities in the church; amongst other things, the king determined forthwith to pull down the roods in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallow night, with a few such like vain ceremonies; and therefore, when the said archbishop taking his leave of the king to go into Kent, his diocese, his highness willed him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised; 'for me,' quoth the king, 'to be signed, the one to be directed unto you, my lord, and the other unto the archbishop of York, wherein I will command you both to send forth your precepts unto all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies reformed undelayedly, that we have communed of.'

"So upon this the king's pleasure known, when the archbishop of Canterbury was then come into Kent, he caused his secretary to conceive and write these letters according to the king's mind, and being made in a readiness, sent them to the court to sir Anthony Denie, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denie had moved the king thereto, the king made answer: 'I am now otherwise resolved, for you shall send my lord of Canterbury word, that since I spake with him about these matters, I have received letters from my lord of Winchester, now being on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us, the emperor, and the French king, and he writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore have been already commenced and done. Wherefore my lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbear until we may espie a more apt and convenient time for that purpose.' Which matter of reformation began to be revived again at what time the great ambassador from the French king came to the king's majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death.—It is not our purpose here....but only to consider the note of the conference and communication had the first night after the said banquet was finished, between the king's majesty, the said ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury, (the king's highness standing openly in the banqueting house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arm upon the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arm upon the shoulder of the ambassador,) touching the establishment of godly religion between those two princes in both their realms; as by the report of the said archbishop unto his secretary [Morice] upon occasion

land and France. The archbishop took this occasion to move the king in these good purposes for a further

of his service to be done in king Edward's visitation, then being register in the same visitation, relation was made in that behalf in this sort.

"When the said visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners should proceed in their voyage, the said archbishop sent for the said register his man, unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make notes of certain things in the said visitation, whereof he gave unto him instruction, having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the said visitation. Upon which occasion the register said unto his master the archbishop: 'I do remember that you not long ago caused me to conceive and write letters, which king Henry the VIII. should have signed and directed unto your grace, and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow night, and such like vain ceremonies; which letters your grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's majesty, but as yet, I think that there was never any thing done therein.'

"'Why,' quoth the archbishop again, 'never heard you how those letters were suppressed and stopped?' Whereunto the archbishop's servant answering again: 'As it was' (said he) 'my duty to write those letters: so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon.' 'Mary,' quoth the archbishop, 'my lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas about a conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation should here pass in the realm touching religion in his absence, against his appetite, wrote to the king's majesty, bearing him in hand, that the league then towards, would not prosper nor go forwards on his majesty's behalf, if he made any other innovation or alteration in religion, or ceremonies in the church, than was already done; which his advertisement herein caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denie wrote to me by the king's commandment.'

"Then said his servant again unto him: 'Forasmuch as the king's good intent took no place then, now your grace may go forward in those matters, the opportunity of the time much better serving thereunto than in king Henry's days.'

"'Not so,' quoth the archbishop. 'It was better to attempt such reformation in king Henry the VIII.'s days, than at this time, the king being in his infancy. For if the king's father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it? Mary, we are now in doubt how men will take the change or alteration of abuses in the church, and therefore the council hath forborne specially to speak thereof, and of other things, which gladly they would have reformed in this visitation, referring all those and such like matters unto the discretion of the visitors. But if king Henry the VIII. had lived unto this day, with the French king, it had

reformation of abuses in religion; towards the which the king appeared to be in so good a mind, Winchester

been past my lord of Winchester's power to have visored the king's highness, as he did, when he was about the same league.'

"'I am sure you were at Hampton Court,' quoth the archbishop, 'when the French king's ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting houses, not long before the king's death: namely, when after the banquet was done the first night, the king leaning upon the ambassador and upon me, if I should tell what communication between the king's highness and the said ambassador was had, concerning the establishing of sincere religion then, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor I myself had thought the king's highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you it passed the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it that few in England would have believed, that the king's majesty and the French king had been at this point, not only within half a year after to have changed the mass in both realms into a communion, as we now use it, but also utterly to have extirped, and banished the bishop of Rome and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions. Yea, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the emperor to do the like in Flanders and other his countries and seignories, or else to break off from him. And herein the king's highness willed me,' quoth the archbishop, 'to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French king to consider of. But the deep and most secret providence of Almighty God, owing to this realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented (for a time) this their most godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these princes.'" Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1244, 45. ed. Lond. 1583. Foxe also, in relating the manner of the death of Henry VIII. (p. 1291.) says, "And thus much touching the end of king Henry, who if he had continued a few months longer, (all those obits and masses which appear in his will, made before he went to Boulogne, notwithstanding), most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one mass in all England. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me. The one is the assured report and testimony of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, hearing the king declare the same out of his own mouth, both to himself and to Monsieur de Annehault, lord admiral, the French ambassador, in the month of August a little before his death. The other cause, which leadeth me thereunto, is also of equal credit, grounded upon the declaration of the king's own mouth after that time, more near to his death, unto Bruno, ambassador of John Frederic, duke of Saxony. Unto the which ambassador of Saxony the king gave this answer openly, that if the quarrel of the duke of Saxony were nothing else against the emperor but for religion, he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to

being absent, who, if he had been at home, would undoubtedly have done his endeavour to put a check to these attempts. But it must be attributed to his being abroad, that the king gave an ear to the archbishop, and appointed a set of more moderate bishops and divines to prepare matter for his allowance and ratification. But Winchester, though at a distance, had information of these designs by his intelligencers; and by making the king believe that, if he suffered any innovations in religion to proceed, the emperor would withdraw his mediation for a league; by these crafty means of this man, these good motions proceeded no further[a].

The archbishop prevails with the king in two great points.

So that there were two abuses in religion which our archbishop, by time and seasonable inculcation, brought the king off from. He had a very great esteem for images in churches, and for the worship used to the cross: and many disputations and discourses happened between the king and the archbishop concerning them. Once at the king's palace at Newhall in Essex, Canterbury and Winchester being alone with the king, a talk happened about images, and the arguments that were used for abolishing them were considered. The archbishop, who built all his arguments upon the word of God, produced the second commandment, and thence he raised his argument. But the king discussed it as a

[a] [See above, pp. 302, 3. n. †.]

doubt nor fear, and so with this answer dismissed the ambassador unto the duke openly, in the hearing of these four sufficient witnesses, the lord Seymer, earl of Harforde, lord Lisley, then admiral, the earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, and lord Paget. But the secret working of God's holy providence, which disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather by taking the king away to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his church, to the peaceable time of his son Edward, and Elizabeth his daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any blood, and life unspotted with any violence or cruelty." See also abp. Cranmer's Works: vol. ii. (letter cclxxix.) pp. 414—416. Park. Soc. ed.]

commandment relating only to the Jews, and not to us; as Winchester relates in one of his letters to the duke of Somerset[a]; adding, (because the reasoning was so much to his own mind), "That the king so discussed it, that all the clerks in Christendom could not amend it." And when, at another time, one had used arguments against the image of the Trinity, whether Cranmer, or some else, I know not, Winchester heard the king answer them too: so possessed was the king once with an opinion of retaining them; and yet at length, by the archbishop's wise and moderate carriage and speeches, the king was brought to another opinion, and to give his orders for the abolishing of a great many of them; namely, of such as had been abused. But when he had done this, he would not forego the other, but commanded kneeling and creeping to the cross. And gross was the superstition that was committed in this blind devotion; which the king, by the archbishop's means, being at length sensible of, was prevailed with that this also should no more be used, as you heard before[b].

Seeks to redress alienation of the revenues of the cathedral.

There was one thing more this careful archbishop recommended to the king this year. He was troubled for his cathedral church of Canterbury, observing how the revenues of it were diminished and made away daily by the prebendaries thereof, to satisfy the insatiable greediness of the laity, and it may be their own too. And the courtiers and others were hard to be withstood, when they were minded to rake from the church. The practice was, that when any were minded to get a portion of land from the church, they would first engage the king therein, and 137
so the church was to make it over to him: and then by

[a] [See letter of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, to the lord protector.—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1346. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[b] [See above, p. 300.]

gift, or for some trifling consideration, as a sale, it was conveyed to them from the king. Nay, sometimes they would use the king's name without his knowledge.

Cranmer had the honesty and the courage to make complaint of this abuse and injury done to the revenues of the cathedral. "That those of the church, to their disquietment, and also great charges, did alienate their lands daily, as it was said, by the king's commandment; but he was sure," he said, "that others had gotten the best lands, and not his majesty. Therefore he sued, that when his majesty was minded to have any of their lands, that they might have some letters from him to declare his pleasure, without the which they were sworn to make no alienation: and that the same alienations might not be made at other men's pleasures, but only to his majesty's use[c]." By which means, it is likely, the prebendaries had more quiet possession of their lands for the time to come.

Scripture and ser-

By this time the archbishop had compassed two very

[c] [This extract is contained in the following P. S. to the archbishop's copy of the king's majesty's letters, inserted above, p. 299. n. [t]. "I beseech your majesty, that I may be a suitor unto the same for your cathedral church of Canterbury: who, to their great unquietness and also great charges, do alienate their lands daily, and as it is said, by your majesty's commandment. But this I am sure, that other men have gotten their best lands, and not your majesty. Wherefore this is mine only suit, that when your majesty's pleasure shall be to have any of their lands, that they may have some letter from your majesty to declare your majesty's pleasure, without the which they be sworn that they shall make no alienation: and that the same alienation be not made at other men's pleasures, but only to your majesty's use. For now every man that list to have any of their lands, makes suit to get it into your majesty's hands; not that your majesty should keep the same, but by sale or gift from your majesty, to translate it from your grace's cathedral church unto themselves.

"T. Cantuarien."

—See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 416, 17. Park. Soc. ed.]

good things in order to the furthering the common people in knowledge and true religion. The one was, that he brought in among the laity a more common use of the Scriptures; and the other, that sermons were more frequently preached than had been before. But both these, to the grief of the archbishop, were sadly abused; for now the contending of preachers in their pulpits, one against another, grew more and more, and became most scandalous. So that few preached the word of God truly and sincerely, but ran almost wholly upon matters controverted; and in that railing manner, that their expressions were very provoking. So that this came to the sowing of discord among the people, instead of promoting love, unity, and solid religion. The laity, on the other hand, some of them railed much on the bishops, and spoke contemptibly of the priests, and taunted the preachers. The Scriptures were much read, but the effect of it appeared too much in their making use of it only for jangling and disputation upon points of religion, and to taunt at the ignorance or error of priests. Others, on the other hand, to be even with the gospellers, made it their business to derogate from the Scripture, to deal with it irreverently, and to rhyme and sing, and make sport with it in alehouses and taverns. These things came to king Henry's ears, which made him very earnestly blame both the laity and spirituality for it, in a speech which he made at the dissolution of his parliament this year[d].

mons more common by the archbishop's means.

Vid. Herb. Hist. p. 600.

A BISHOP CONFIRMED.

Anthony Kitchin, alias Dunstan, D. D. was elected and confirmed bishop of Landaff, May 2[e]. The archbishop

Anthony Kitchin.

[d] [See Ld. Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. pp. 598–601. ed. Lond. 1672.]

[e] [See above. p. 290.]

sent his commissional letters, dated the same day to Thomas, bishop of Westminster[f], for his consecration: but the consecration is not entered in the register. His oath
138 to the king began thus: "I Anthony Kitchin, elect bishop of Landaff, having now the veil of darkness of the usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction of the see and bishop of Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my heart, that neither the see, nor the bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potestate, hath, or ought to have," &c. as before[g].

Anno 1546. A proclamation against the English Testament.

Another proclamation was set out the next year, (which was the last issued out under this king), prohibiting again Tindal's and Coverdale's English New Testament, or any other than what was permitted by parliament; and also the English books of Wickliff, Frith, &c., the king being vexed with the contests and clamours of the people one against another, while they disputed so much of what they read, and practised so little[h].

He interprets a statute of his church.

A small matter oftentimes creates great brabblings and contentions in fraternities. Such a small thing now occurred in the archbishop's church. Two of the prebends were minded to change houses; but the rest, it seems, made some opposition, as reckoning it contrary to a certain statute of that church. The archbishop hearing hereof seasonably interposed, and interpreted their statute for them. The preachers also of this church seem not to have been fairly dealt with by the prebends, both as to their lodgings and benefits: but at a late chap-

[f] [Thomas Thirlby.]

[g] [See "the archbishop of York's oath at his consecration," above, p. 290.]

[h] [For an account of this proclamation, and the terms of its contents, see Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. pp. 202, 3.]

ter they had obtained an order in their behalf. This the archbishop now, who favoured preaching, reminded them speedily to make good. Concerning both these affairs, he wrote this letter to them for the preserving quietness, peace, and good order in his church:

"After my hearty commendations: whereas I am informed that you be in doubt whether any prebendary of that my church may exchange his house or garden with another prebend of the same church-living, and that you be moved by this statute so to think, which here followeth; '*Statuimus ut canonicus de novo electus, et demissus in de-mortui, aut resignantis, aut quovismodo cedentis ædes succedat.* These be to signify unto you, that neither this statute, nor any other reason that I know, maketh any thing against the exchange between two prebends living, but that they may change house, orchard, or garden during their life, this statute or any other reason contrary notwithstanding. And whereas you have appointed your preachers at your last chapter their chambers and commodities, I require you that they may be indelayedly admitted thereunto, according to that your order. Thus fare you well. From my manor of Croydon, the 12th of December, 1546. Ex Regist. Eccles. Christ. Cant.

"TH. CANTUARIENS."

"To my loving friends, the vice-dean and prebendaries of my church in Canterbury."

139 This was the last year of king Henry. And the two last things the archbishop was concerned in by the king were these. The king commanded him to pen a form for the alteration of the mass into a communion. For a peace being concluded between Henry and the French king, while that king's ambassador, Dr. Annehault, was here, The archbishop, by the king's command, pens a form for a communion.

a notable treaty was in hand by both kings for the promoting that good piece of reformation in the churches of both kingdoms, of abolishing the mass. The kings seemed to be firmly resolved thereon, intending to exhort the emperor to do the same. The work our king committed to the archbishop, who no question undertook it very gladly: but the death of the king prevented this taking effect[i].

His last office to the king.

The last office the archbishop did for the king, his master, was to visit him in his last sickness, whom of all his bishops and chaplains he chose to have with him at that needful hour, to receive his last comfort and counsel. But the king was void of speech when he came, though not of sense and apprehension. For when the king took him by the hand, the archbishop speaking comfortably to him, desired him to give him some token that he put his trust in God through Jesus Christ, according as he had advised him; and thereat the king presently wrung hard the archbishop's hand, and soon after departed, viz. January the 28th[k].

[i] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1245. ed. Lond. 1583, and above, pp. 305, 6.]

[k] [For a full account of the death of king Henry VIII., and the manner thereof, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1290, 1.]

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE

APPENDIX

TO THE

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

OF THE

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

NUMBER I.

ACCOUNT OF MR. POOL'S BOOK BY DR. CRANMER.

To the right honourable, and my singular good lord, my lord of Wiltshire[1].

[m] IT may please your lordship to be advertised, that the king's grace, my lady your wife, my lady Anne

Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansdowne MSS. 115. fol. i. British Museum. Original, and holograph.]

[1] [Thomas Boleyn, father of queen Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, Dec. 8, 1529.]

[m] [Dec. 8, 1529. This letter was probably written in June, 1531, whilst Cranmer was in England, after his return from Rome, where, as ambassador, he had presented his book on the divorce to the pope, and previously to his departure to Germany on his mission to the emperor. Dr. Jenkyns (Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 1.) suggests that he was probably residing at this time with the Boleyn family, as had been the case before he accompanied the earl to Italy. See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 30, where several errors of Strype respecting this letter are corrected.]

your daughter, be in good health, whereof thanks be to God.

As concerning the king's cause, master Raynolde Poole hath written a book[n] much contrary to the king's purpose, with such wit, that it appeareth that he might be for his wisdom of the council to the king's grace; and of such eloquence, that if it were set forth and known to the common people, I suppose it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary. The principal intent whereof is, that the king's grace should be content to commit his great cause to the judgment of the pope; wherein meseemeth he lacketh much judgment. But he [per]suadeth that with such goodly eloquence, both the words and sentence, that he were like to persuade many: but me he persuadeth in that point nothing at all. But in many other things he satisfieth me very well. The sum whereof I shall shortly rehearse.

First, he sheweth the cause wherefore he had never pleasure to intromit himself in this cause, and that was the trouble which was like to ensue to this realm thereof by diversity of titles; whereof what hurt might come, we have had example in our fathers' days by the titles of Lancaster and York. And whereas God hath given many noble gifts unto the king's grace, as well of body and mind, as also of fortune; yet this exceedeth
4 all other, that in him all titles do meet and come together, and this realm is restored to tranquillity and peace; so oweth he to provide, that this land fall not again to the foresaid misery and trouble; which may come as well by the people within this realm, (which think surely that they have an heir lawful already, with whom they all be well content, and would be sorry to

[n] [See above, p. 11.]

have any other, and it would be hard to persuade them to take any other, leaving her), as also by the emperor, which is a man of so great power, the queen being his aunt, the princess his niece, whom he so much doth and ever hath favoured.

And where he heard reasons for the king's party, that he was moved of God's law, which doth straitly forbid, and that with many great threats, that no man shall marry his brother's wife: and as for the people, that longeth not to their judgment, and yet it is to be thought that they will be content, when they shall know that the ancient doctors of the church, and the determinations of so many great universities be of the king's sentence: and as concerning the emperor, if he be so unrightful that he will maintain an unjust cause, yet God will never fail them that stand upon his party, and for any thing will not transgress his commandments: and beside that, we shall not lack the aid of the French king, which partly for the league which he hath made with us, and partly for the displeasure and old grudge, which he beareth toward the emperor, would be glad to have occasion to be avenged: these reasons he bringeth for the king's party against his own opinion.

To which he maketh answer in this manner. First, as touching the law of God, he thinketh that if the king were pleased to take the contrary part, he might as well justify that, and have as good ground of the Scripture therefore, as for that part which he now taketh. And yet if he thought the king's party never so just, and that this his marriage were undoubtedly against God's pleasure, then he could not deny but it should be well done for the king to refuse this marriage, and to take another wife: but that he should be a doer therein, and a setter forward thereof, he could never find in his heart. And

yet he granteth that he hath no good reason therefore, only affection[o] which he beareth and of duty oweth unto the king's person. For in so doing he should not only weaken, yea and utterly take away the princess' title, but also he must needs accuse the most, and chief part of all the king's life hitherto, which hath been so unfortunate to live more than twenty years in a matrimony so shameful, so abominable, so bestial and against nature, (if it be so as the books which do defend the king's party do say), that the abomination thereof is naturally written and graven in every man's heart, so that none excusation can be made by ignorance; and thus to accuse the noble nature of the king's grace, and to take away the title of his succession, he could never find in his heart, were [the] king's cause never so good; which he doth knowledge to be only affection.

Now as concerning the people, he thinketh not possible to satisfy them by learning or preaching; but as they now do begin to hate priests, this shall make them rather to hate much more both learned men, and also the name of learning, and bring them in abomination of every man. For what loving men toward their prince would gladly hear, that either their prince should be so unfortunate, to live so many years in matrimony so abominable, or that they should be taken and counted so bestial, to approve and take for lawful, and that so many years, a matrimony so unlawful and so much against nature, that every man in his heart naturally doth abhor it; and, that is more, when they hear this matrimony dispraised and spoken against, neither by their own minds, nor by reasons that be made against this matrimony, can they be persuaded to grudge against the matrimony; but for any thing they

[o] ["Therefore, but only affection." Lansdowne MSS.]

do grudge against the divorce, wherein the people should shew themselves no men but beasts. And that the people should be persuaded hereto, he cannot think it.

And as for the authority of the universities, he thinketh and saith that many times they be led by affections, which is well known to every man, and wisheth that they never did err in their determinations. Then he sheweth with how great difficulty the universities were brought to the king's party. And moreover against the authority of the universities, he setteth the authority of the king's grace's father and his council, the queen's father and his council, and the pope and his council.

Then he cometh again to the pope, and the emperor, and French king. And first the pope, how much he is adversary unto the king's purpose, he hath shewed divers tokens already, and not without a cause; for if he should consent to the king's purpose, he must needs do against his predecessors, and also restrain his own power more than it hath been in time past, which rather he would be glad to extend; and moreover he should set great sedition in many realms, as in Portugal, of which king the emperor hath married one sister, and the duke of Savoy the other. Then he extolleth the power of the emperor and diminish[eth] the aid of the French king toward us, saying, that the emperor, without drawing of any sword, but only by forbidding the course of merchandise into Flanders and Spain, may put this realm into great damage and ruin. And what if he will thereto draw his sword, wherein is so much power, which being of much less power than he is now, subdued the pope and the French king. And as for the Frenchmen, [they] never used to keep league with us but for their own advantage, and we can never find in our hearts to trust them. And yet if now contrary to their old nature they keep their

league, yet our nation shall think themselves in miserable condition, if they shall be compelled to trust upon their aid, which always have been our mortal enemies, and never we loved them, nor they us. And if the Frenchmen have any suspicion that this new matrimony shall not continue, then we shall have no succour of them, but upon such conditions as shall be intolerable to this realm. And if they, following their old nature and custom, then do break league with us, then we shall look for none other, but that England shall be a prey between the emperor and them. After all this he cometh to the point to save the king's honour, saying that the king standeth even upon the brink of the water, and yet he may save all his honour; but if he put forth his foot but one step forward, all his honour is drowned. And the means which he hath devised to save the king's honour is this.

The rest of this matter I must leave to shew your lordship by mouth when I speak with you, which I pur-
6 pose, God willing, shall be to-morrow, if the king's grace let me not. Now the bearer maketh such haste that I can write no more, but that I hear no word from my benefice, nor master Russell['s] servant is not yet returned again, whereof I do not a little marvel. The king and my lady Anne rode yesterday to Windsor, and this night they be looked for again at Hampton Court; God be their guide, and preserve your lordship to his most pleasure. From Hampton Court, this xiii. day of June, [1531[p].]

Your most humble beadman,

THOMAS CRANMAR[q].

[p] [See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 30.]

[q] [This is the only instance in the collection of the archbishop's letters in which his surname, written with his own hand, is spelled Cranmar.]

NUMBER II.

TO KING HENRY VIII.[r]

Pleaseth it your highness to understand, that at my last solicitation unto Monsieur Grandeveile[s] for an answer of the contract of merchandise between the merchants of your grace's realm, and the merchants of the emperor's Low Countries; the said Monsieur Grandeveile shewed me, that forsomuch as the diet concerning the said contract was lately held in Flanders, where the queen of Hungary is governatrice, the emperor thought good to do nothing therein without her advice, but to make answer by her rather than by me. Wherefore it may please your grace no further to look for answer of me herein, but of the queen, unto whom the whole answer is committed. Sir W. H[ickes'] MSS.

Moreover, when the said Monsieur Grandeveile inquired of me, if I had any answer of the aid and subsidy, which the emperor desired of your grace, I reported unto him fully your grace's answer, according unto mine instructions sent unto me by your grace's servant, William Paget. Which answer he desired me to deliver him in writing, that he might refer the same truly unto the emperor, and so I did. Nevertheless the emperor, now at his departing, hath had such importune business, that Monsieur Grandeveile assigned me to repair unto the emperor again at Lintz, for there, he said, I shall have an answer again in writing. The French ambassador and I with all diligence do make preparation to furnish ourselves of wagons, horses, ships, tents, and other things necessary to our voyage; but it will be at the

[r] [See above, p. 21.]

[s] [See Biographie Universelle, vol. xviii. pp. 314–320. ed. 1811–28.]

least eight or ten days before we can be ready to depart hence. Yet we trust to be at Lintz before the emperor; for he will tarry by the way at Passaw ten or twelve days.

As for the Turk, he resideth still in Hungary in the same place environed upon all parts, whereof I wrote unto your highness in my last letters. And the emperor
7 departed from Abagh toward Vienna the second day of this month by land, not coming by this town: but the same day the king Ferdinand[t] departed from this town by water, and at Passaw, fourteen miles hence, they shall meet, and so pass forth unto Lintz, which is the midway from hence unto Vienna. And there the emperor will tarry to counsel what he will do: and there all the ambassadors shall know his pleasure, as Monsieur Grandeveile shewed me.

I have sent herewith unto your grace the copy of the emperor's proclamation concerning a general council, and a reformation to be had in Germany for the controversies of the faith. Also I have sent the tax of all the states of the empire, how many soldiers every man is limited unto for the aid against the Turk. Wherein your grace may perceive, that the greatest prince in Germany, (only the duke of Burgundy and Austria except,) is not appointed above 120 horsemen and 554 footmen. Thus our Lord evermore have your highness in his preservation and governance. From Regenspurgh the iv. day of September, [1532.]

Your grace's most humble subject, chaplain,
and beadman,

THOMAS CRANMER.

[t] [i. e. The brother of Charles V. who succeeded him in the empire.]

NUMBER III[u].

A PARCEL OF JEWELS SENT FROM GREENWICH TO HAMPTON COURT TO THE KING. TO THE RECEIPT OF WHICH HE SET HIS HAND.

HENRY R.

SENT unto the king's highness from Greenwich to Hampton Court, by Master Norrys, the 21st day of September, in the 24th year of his grace's reign, these parcels ensuing. Which parcels his grace doth knowledge himself to have received by this present bill, signed with his most gracious hand the day and year above expressed. Sir W. H[ickes'] MSS.

First, one carcan of gold antique work, having a shield of gold, set with a great rose, containing twelve diamonds. One fair table diamond. One pointed diamond. One table ruby. One table emerald. And three fair hanging pearls. 1.

Item, another carcan of gold of hearts with two hands holding a great ouch of gold, set with a great table balasse. One pointed diamond: two table diamonds: whereof one rising with lozenges, and the other flat. And one other long lozenged diamond. And four pearls, with one long pearl pendant. 2.

Item, Another carcan of gold enamelled with black and white, with an ouch of gold enamelled white and blue: set with a great rocky ruby: one rocky emerald: One pointed diamond. One table diamond. A heart of a diamond, rising full of lozenges. And one fair hanging pearl. 3.

Item, Another carcan of links of gold. The one enamelled black, the other gold: having an ouch of gold, 4. 8

[u] [See above, p. 35.]

set with a great rocky balasse: two small table diamonds; and one lozenged diamond. Five slight pearls, and one long pearl pendant thereat.

5. Item, Another carcan of gold, garnished thoroughly with twenty-two collets of diamonds, containing in all seventy-seven diamonds small and great: and forty-three pearls, with an ouch of antique, set with thirteen diamonds, one rocky ruby, and one rocky emerald; and a flat round hinging pearl.

6. Item, Another carcan of gold, enamelled black, with an ouch, set with a fair table balasse, and three small triangled diamonds, and five pearls.

7. Item, A George on horseback, garnished with sixteen small diamonds. And in the belly of the dragon a rocky pearl.

8. Item, Another carcan of gold: all black, having a George on horseback; garnished with eighteen small diamonds. And in the belly of the dragon a pearl ragged.

9. Item, A chain of gold, of Spanish fashion, enamelled, white, red and black.

[NUMBER III.*[t]

TO ARCHDEACON HAWKYNS[u].

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 32. British Museum. Copy. Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 78. Ellis' Orig. Letters, first series, Lett. cxiv.

In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you, and even so would be right glad to hear of your welfare, &c. These be to advertise you, that inasmuch as you now and then take some pains in writing unto me, I would be loath you should think your labour utterly lost and forgotten for lack of writing again; therefore, and because I reckon you be some deal desirous of such news as hath been here

[t] [See above, p. 36.]

[u] [Nicholas Hawkyns, archdeacon of Ely, succeeded Cranmer as ambassador to the emperor Charles V. and died A. D. 1534. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 73.]

with us of late in the king's grace's matters, I intend to inform you a part thereof, according to the tenor and purport used in that behalf.

vol. ii. pp. 33, 4. ed. Lond. 1824. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 80.

And first, as touching the final determination and concluding of the matter of divorce between my lady Katherine and the king's grace, which said matter, after the convocation in that behalf had determined and agreed according to the former consent of the universities, it was thought convenient by the king and his learned counsel that I should repair unto Dunstable, which is within four miles unto Ampthill, where the said lady Katherine keepeth her house, and there to call her before me to hear the final sentence in the said matter. Notwithstanding, she would not at all obey thereunto, for when she was by doctor Lee cited to appear by a day, she utterly refused the same, saying, that inasmuch as her cause was before the pope, she would have none other judge; and therefore would not take me for her judge.

Nevertheless the eighth day of May, according to the said appointment, I came unto Dunstable, my lord of Lincoln[v] being assistant unto me, and my lord of Winchester[w], Dr. Bell, Dr. Claybroke, Dr. Trygonnell, Dr. Hewis, Dr. Oliver, Dr. Britten, Mr. Bedell, with divers other learned in the law, being counsellors in the law for the king's part: and so there at our coming kept a court for the appearance of the said lady Katherine, where we examined certain witness, which testified that she was lawfully cited and called to appear, whom for fault of appearance was declared *contumax;* proceeding in the said cause against her *in pœnam contumaciæ*[x], as the process of the law thereunto belongeth; which continued

[v] [John Longland, who was confessor to Henry VIII.]

[w] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[x] [The reading in the manuscript is, *contumaciam*, but Mr. Todd reads as in the text.]

fifteen days after our coming thither. And the morrow after Ascension-day I gave final sentence therein, how that it was indispensable for the pope to license any such marriages.

This done, and after our rejourneying home again, the king's highness prepared all things convenient for the coronation of the queen[y], which also was after such a manner as followeth.

Coronation of queen Ann.

The Thursday next before the feast of Pentecost, the king and the queen being at Greenwich, all the crafts of London thereunto well appointed, in several barges decked after the most gorgeous and sumptuous manner, with divers pageants thereunto belonging, repaired and waited all together upon the mayor of London; and so well furnished came all unto Greenwich, where they tarried and waited for the queen's coming to her barge: which so done, they brought her unto the Tower, trumpets, shalmes, and other divers instruments all the ways playing and making great melody, which, as is reported, was so comely done as never was like in any time nigh to our remembrance.

And so her grace came to the Tower on Thursday at night, about five of the clock, where also was such a peal of guns as hath not been heard like a great while before. And the same night, and Friday all day, the king and queen tarried there; and on Friday at night the king's grace made eighteen knights of the Bath, whose creation was not alonely so strange to hear of, as also their garments stranger to behold or look on, which said knights the next day, which was Saturday, rid before the queen's grace throughout the city of London towards Westminster palace, over and besides the most part of the nobles of the

[y] [For the details of this coronation of Anne Boleyn, see Stow's Annals, p. 562, et seqq. ed. Lond. 1615.]

realm, which like accompanied her grace throughout the said city; she sitting in her hair upon a horse litter, richly apparelled, and four knights of the five ports bearing a canopy over her head. And after her came four rich chariots, one of them empty, and three other furnished with divers ancient old ladies; and after them came a great train of other ladies and gentlewomen; which said progress, from the beginning to the ending, extended half a mile in length by estimation, or thereabout. To whom also, as she came along the city, was shewed many costly pageants, with divers other encomies spoken of children to her. Wine also running at certain conduits plentifully. And so proceeding throughout the streets, passed forth unto Westminster-hall, where was a certain banquet prepared for her, which done, she was conveyed out of the backside of the palace into a barge, and so unto York-place, where the king's grace was before her coming, for this you must ever presuppose, that his grace came always before her secretly in a barge, as well from Greenwich to the Tower, as from the Tower to York-place.

Now then on Sunday was the coronation, which also was of such a manner. In the morning there assemble[d] with me at Westminster church, the bishop of York[z], the bishop of London[a], the bishop of Winchester[b], the bishop of Lincoln[c], the bishop of Bath[d], and the bishop of St. Asse[e]; the abbot of Westminster[f], with ten or twelve more abbots, which all revestered ourselves in our pontificalibus, and so furnished, with our crosses and crosiers, proceeded out of the abbey in a procession unto Westminster-hall, where we received the queen apparelled in a robe of purple velvet, and all the ladies and gentlewomen in robes and

[z] [Edward Lee.] [a] [John Stokesley.] [b] [Stephen Gardiner.]
[c] [John Longland.] [d] [John Clerk.] [e] [Henry Standish.]
[f] [William Benson or Boston.]

gowns of scarlet, according to the manner used beforetime in such business: and so her grace, sustained of each side with two bishops, the bishop of London and the bishop of Winchester, came forth in procession unto the church of Westminster, she in her hair, my lord of Suffolk bearing before her the crown, and two other lords bearing also before her a sceptre and a white rod, and so entered up into the high altar, where, divers ceremonies used about her, I did set the crown on her head, and then was sung *Te Deum*, &c. And after that was sung a solemn mass, all which while her grace sat crowned upon a scaffold, which was made between the high altar and the choir in Westminster church; which mass and ceremonies done and finished, all the assembly of noblemen brought her into Westminster-hall again, where was kept a great solemn feast all that day; the good order thereof were too long to write at this time to you. But now, sir, you may not imagine that this coronation was before her marriage, for she was married much about St. Paul's day last, as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child. Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married her; which was plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things be also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales." (&c.) See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. II. Letter xiv. pp. 244—246. Park. Soc. ed.]

NUMBER IV.

THE KING TO DR. BONER, HIS MAJESTY'S AGENT, TO DECLARE TO THE POPE HIS APPEAL FROM HIM AND HIS SENTENCE.

By the King.

HENRY R.

TRUSTY and wellbeloved, we greet ye well. Signifying unto the same, that we have appealed from the pope's sentence, lately given against us; which appeal ye receiving herewith, with a proxy devised for that intent, our mind and pleasure is, that if it is thought to you good and beneficial, for conservation of the same, ye intimate the same to the pope after the order and form of law, and according to our said proxy sent unto you. And if not, to advertise us of your mind and opinion in that behalf. Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 18th day of August. Sir W. H[ickes'] MSS.

To our trusty and wellbeloved
Mr. Doctor BONER.

NUMBER V.

CRANMER'S PROTESTATION AT HIS CONSECRATION.

IN Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis authentica persona et testibus fide dignis, hic præsentibus, ego Thomas in Cantuari. archiepiscopum electus, dico, allego, et in his scriptis palam, publice, et expresse protestor: Quod cum juramentum, sive juramenta ab electis in Cantuari. archiepiscopos summo pontifici præstari solita, me, ante meam consecrationem, aut tempore ejusdem, pro forma potius, quam pro esse, aut re obligatoria ad illam obtinendam oporteat, non est, nec erit meæ voluntatis aut Cranm. reg. 9

intentionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercunque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem posthac dicend. faciend. aut attemptand., quod erit, aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illustris. regem nostrum Angliæ, aut. remp. hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve aut prærogativas ejusdem. Et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovismodo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis, reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæve commoditatem, quoquomodo concernentibus, et ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in Ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum hanc interpretationem et intellectum hunc, et non aliter, neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me præstiturum protestor et profiteor. Protestorque insuper, quodcumque juramentum sit, quod meus procurator summo pontifici meo nomine antehac præstitit, quod non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ, sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod juramentum meo nomine præstare potuerit, contrarium aut repugnans juramento per me præstito, aut in posterum præstando præfato illustriss. Angliæ regi. Et casu, quod aliquid tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum meo nomine præstitit, protestor, quod illud me inscio, et absque mea authoritate præstitum, pro nullo et invalido esse volo. Quas protestationes in omnibus clausulis et sententiis dictorum juramentorum repetitas et reiteratas volo; a quibus per aliquod meum factum vel dictum quovismodo recedere non intendo, nec recedam; sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo.

NUMBER VI.

CRANMER'S OATH TAKEN AT HIS CONSECRATION TO THE POPE.

Ego Thomas, electus Cantuariensis, ab hac hora, ut antea, fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro, sanctæ apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domino meo D. Clementi VII. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, vel membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum, et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero, ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum sedis apostolicæ in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina Romana curia existente citra Alpes singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuntium, nisi apostolica absolvat licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignerabo, neque de novo infudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia. [Cranm. reg.]

NUMBER VII.

CRANMER'S OATH TO THE KING FOR HIS TEMPORALTIES.

I, Thomas Cranmer, renounce and utterly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have of the pope's holiness in his bulls of the archbishopric of Canterbury, that in any manner was, is, or may be hurtful, [Cotton MSS. Cleopatra, E. 6. [fol. 246. Brit. Museum, original.]

or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, estate, or dignity royal; knowing myself[g] to take and hold the said archbishopric immediately, and only, of your highness, and of none other. Most lowly beseeching the same for restitution of the temporalties of the said archbishopric; professing to be faithful[h], true, and obedient subject to your said highness, your heirs and successors, during my life. So help me God, and the holy evangelists!

[NUMBER VII*.[i]

TO ARCHDEACON HAWKYNS.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 38, 9. Christ. Remembrancer. Nov. 1820. Todd's Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 89.

MASTER Archdeacon, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. These be to ascertain you of such news as be here now in fame amongst us in England. And first ye shall understand, that at Canterbury within my diocese, about eight years past, there was wrought a great miracle in a maid by the power of God and our lady, named our lady of Courteupstret; by reason of the which miracle there is stablished a great pilgrimage, and ever since many devout people hath sought to that foresaid lady of Curte of Strett.

The miracle was this: the maid was taken with a grievous and continual sickness, and induring her said sickness she had divers and many trances, speaking of many high and godly things, telling also wondrously, by the power of the Holy Ghost, as it was thought, things done and said in other places, whereas neither she was herself, nor yet heard no report thereof. She had also in her trances many strange visions and revelations as of heaven, hell,

[g] ["Knowledging myself." Cotton MSS.]

[h] ["Promising to be faithful." Cotton MSS.]

[i] [See above, p. 44.]

and purgatory, and of the state of certain souls departed[k], and amongst all other visions one was, that [she] should be conveyed to our lady of Courte of Strett, where she was promised to be healed of her sickness, and that Almighty God should work wonders in her; and when she was brought thither and laid before the image of our lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her tongue hanging out, and her eyes being in a manner plucked out, and laid upon her cheeks, and so greatly disordered. Then was there heard a voice speaking within her belly, as it had been in a tun; her lips not greatly moving; she all that while continuing by the space of three hours and more in a trance; the which voice, when it told any thing of the joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof; and contrary, when it told any thing of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly, that it put the hearers in a great fear. It spake also many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages and trentals, hearing of masses, and confession, and many such other things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again, and was perfectly whole[l], and

[k] [For instance: "that my lord cardinal came to his death before God would have had him by the space of fifteen years, and therefore Almighty God hath given no sentence upon him, but will defer it till those years be expired, which it was the will of God he should have lived in the world." MS. Public Record Office, Tract. Theol. et Polit. vol. vii., A. j. 13. In another of her revelations she described, how she saw the disputations of the devils for Wolsey's soul; and how she was three times lift up and could not see him, neither in heaven, hell, nor purgatory: and at the last where she saw him; and how by her penance he was brought unto heaven. See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. p. 273. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[l] ["After mass she kneeled afore the image of our lady of Court of Street, and said then she was made perfectly whole, where she was perfectly whole afore she came thither, as she hath plainly and openly confessed afore divers of the king's grace's council." MS. Public Record

so this miracle was finished and solemnly rung, and a book written of all the whole story thereof, and put into print, which ever since that time hath been commonly sold and gone abroad amongst all people. After this miracle done, she had a commandment from God in a vision, as she said, to profess herself a nun. And so she was professed, and hath so continued, in a nunnery at Canterbury, called St. Sepulchre's, ever since.

And then she chose a monk of Christ's Church, a doctor in divinity[m], to be ghostly father, whose counsel she hath used and evermore followed in all her doing. And evermore since from time to time hath had almost every week, or at the furthest every fortnight, new visions and revelations, and she hath had oftentimes trances and raptures, by reason whereof, and also of the great perfectness that was thought to be in her, divers and many, as well great men of the realm as mean men, and many learned men, but specially divers and many religious men, had great confidence in her, and often resorted unto her and communed with her, to the intent they might by her know the will of God; and chiefly concerning the king's marriage[n],

Office, Tractat. Theol. et Polit., vol. vii. ch. 1. 13.]

[m] [Edward Bockyng. "He informed the said archbishop [Warham], that a voice had spoken in her in one of her trances, that it was the pleasure of God that he should be her ghostly father." MS. ibid.]

[n] ["For all the time of her abode at Aldington, she meddled not with the king's grace's marriage... But after that she had been at Canterbury a while, and had heard this said Dr. Bockyng rail and jest like a frantic person against the king's grace's purposed marriage, against his acts of parliament, and against the maintenance of heresies within this realm, declaring and blustering out his cankered malice to the said Elizabeth in the said matters,.. then soon after she began to feign herself to have visions and revelations from God, and said that God commanded her to say to the late cardinal, and also to the late archbishop of Canterbury, that if they married, or furthered the king's grace to be married to the queen that now is, they both should be

the great heresies and schisms within the realm, and the taking away the liberties of the church; for in these three points standeth the great number of her visions, which were so many, that her ghostly father could scantly write them in three or four quires of paper. And surely, I think, that she did marvellously stop the going forward of the king's marriage by the reason of her visions, which she said was of God, persuading them that came unto her how highly God was displeased therewith, and what vengeance Almighty God would take upon all the favourers thereof; insomuch that she wrote letters to the pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage, and to use his high and heavenly power therein, as he would avoid the great stroke of God, which then hanged ready over his head, if he did the contrary. She had also communication with my lord cardinal, and with my lord of Canterbury, my predecessor, in the matter; and [in] mine opinion, with her feigned visions and godly threatenings, she stayed them very much in the matter.

She had also secret knowledge of divers other things, and then she feigned that she had knowledge thereof from God; insomuch that she conceived letters and sent them forth, making divers people believe that those letters were written in heaven[o], and sent from thence to earthly crea-

utterly destroyed. And so she shewed them under such manner, that it appeared by their acts and deeds that they gave confidence to her; for the said archbishop had, afore her coming to him, provoked from the pope to the general council, intending to proceed in the king's grace's matter of matrimony and divorce, seeing his grace could have none indifferent justice shewed him in other places. And the said cardinal was as well minded and bent to go forth in the king's grace's said cause of matrimony and divorce as any man living, according to the law of God and the law of nature, till he was perverted by this nun, and induced to believe, that if he proceeded in the same, God would sore strike him." MS. ibid.]

[o] [Mary Magdalen was said to

tures. Now about Midsummer last, I, hearing of these matters, sent for this holy maid, to examine her; and from me she was had to master Cromewell, to be further examined there. And now she hath confessed all, and uttered the very truth, which is this: that she never had vision in all her life, but all that ever she said was feigned of her own imagination, only to satisfy the minds of them the which resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise: by reason of the which her confession, many and divers, both religious men and other, be now in trouble, forasmuch as they consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition and also treason, and would not utter it, but rather further the same to their power.

She said that the king should not continue king a month after that he were married. And within six months after, God would strike the realm with such a plague as never was seen, and then the king should be destroyed. She took upon her also to shew the condition and state of souls departed, as of my lord cardinal, my late lord of Canterbury, with divers other. To shew you the whole story of all the matter, it were too long to write in two or three letters; you shall know further thereof at your coming home.

As touching the bishoprics that be void, ye shall understand, that doctor Salcott, the abbot of Hyde, is elect bishop of Bangor, doctor Lee, the lawyer, is elect bishop of Chester. There is as yet none elect bishop of Ely:

have given her a letter that was written in heaven in characters of gold: "which is as false as God is true: for by much inquisition Mary Magdalen is found out, and is turned into a monk of St. Augustin's in this town, named Hawkeherste, which hath confessed the writing thereof, and the limning of these golden words, 'Jehus Maria,' which be written above the letter." MS. ibid.]

you shall know at your coming home who shall be. The parliament is not holden this term, but is prorogued to the xv. day of January. The queen's grace was brought [to bed] about the xiii. or xiv. day of September of a princess. I myself was godfather, the old duchess of Norfolk and my lady marquess Dorset were godmothers. The duke of Richmond hath married my lady Mary, the duke of Norfolk's daughter. From Lamethe, the xx. day of December, A°. xxv. Reg. [1533.]—[Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. II. letter lxxxiii. pp. 272—274. Park. Soc. ed.]

NUMBER IX.[p] 13

BISHOP FISHER[q] TO SECRETARY CRUMWEL, DECLARING HIS WILLINGNESS TO SWEAR TO THE SUCCESSION[r].

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 6. p. 172. [British Museum. Original & holograph.]

After my most humble commendations. Whereas ye be content that I should write unto the king's highness, in good faith I dread me, that I cannot be so circumspect in my writing, but that some word shall escape me, wherewith his grace shall be moved to some further displeasure against me, whereof I would be very sorry: for as I will answer before God, I would not in any manner of point offend his grace, my duty saved unto God, whom I must in every thing prefer. And for this consideration I am full loath, and full of fear to write unto his highness in this matter. Nevertheless sithen I conceive that it is your mind that I shall so do, I will endeavour me to the best I can. But first here I must beseech you, good master secretary, to call to your remembrance, that at my last being before you and the other commissioners, for

[p] [No. viii. will be found in this edition to follow No. xxv.*, where it should have been originally placed by the author. See above, p. 155.]

[q] [Bishop of Rochester. See above, p. 55.]

[r] [See above, p. 57.]

taking of the oath concerning the king's most noble succession, I was content to be sworn unto that parcel concerning the succession: and there I did rehearse this reason which I said moved me. I doubted not but that the prince of any realm, with the assent of his nobles and commons, might appoint for his succession royal such an order as was seen unto his wisdom most according. And for this reason I said that I was content to be sworn unto that part of the oath as concerning the succession: this is a very truth, as God help my soul at my most need; albeit I refused to swear to some other parcels, because that my conscience would not serve me so to do. [&c.]

NUMBER X.

[ROWLAND] LEE BISHOP ELECT OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY TO SECRETARY CRUMWEL CONCERNING BISHOP FISHER.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. p. 165. [British Museum. Original and holograph.]

PLEASETH you to be adverted[s], that I have been with my lord of Rochester, who is as you left him; that is to say, ready to take his oath[t] for the succession, and to swear never to meddle more in disputation of the validity of the matrimony, or invalidity with the lady dowager[u], but that utterly to refuse. For as for the case[x] of the prohibition Levitical, his conscience is so knit, that he cannot send it off from him whatsoever betide him. And yet he will and doth profess[y] his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king during his life. Truly the man is nigh going and

[s] ["To be advertised." Cott. MSS.]

[t] ["To make his oath." Cott. MSS.]

[u] [i. e. Queen Katherine.]

[x] ["But as for the case." Cott. MSS.]

[y] ["Doth formally profess." Cott. MSS.]

doubtless cannot continue, unless the king and his council be merciful unto him; for the body cannot bear the clothes on his back, as knoweth God. Who preserve you. In haste scribbled by your own most bounden

Roland Co. et Litch. electus et confirmatus.

NUMBER XI.

14

THE ARCHBISHOP TO SECRETARY CRUMWEL, IN BEHALF OF BISHOP FISHER AND SIR THOMAS MORE.

Right worshipful Master Crumwel,

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 6. p. 181. [British Museum. Original & holograph.]

AFTER most hearty commendations, &c. I doubt not but you do right well remember, that my lord of Rochester and master More were contented to be sworn to the act of the king's succession, but not to the preamble[a] of the same. What was the cause of their refusal thereof, I am uncertain, and they would by no means express the same. Nevertheless it must needs be, either the diminution of the authority of the bishop of Rome, or else the reprobation of the king's first pretensed matrimony. But if they do obstinately persist in their opinions of the preamble, yet, meseemeth, it should not be refused, if they will be sworn to the very act of succession: so that they will be sworn to maintain the same against all powers and potentates. For hereby shall be a great occasion to satisfy the princess dowager and the lady Mary, which do think they should damn their souls, if they should abandon and relinquish their estates. And not only it should stop the mouths of them, but also of the emperor, and other their friends, if they give as much credence to my lord of Rochester and master More speaking and doing against them, as

The preamble to this act may be read in the History of the Reformation, part i. p. 145.

[a] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 294–297. ed. Oxon. 1829, and above, pp. 53, 4, n. v.]

they hitherto have done, and thought that all other should have done, when they spake and did with them. And peradventure it should be a good quietation to many other within this realm, if such men should say, that the succession comprised within the said act is good and according to God's laws. For then I think there is not one within this realm, that would once reclaim against it. And whereas divers persons, either of a wilfulness will not, or of an indurate and invertible conscience cannot, alter from their opinions of the king's first pretensed marriage, (wherein they have once said their minds, and percase have a persuasion in their heads, that if they should now vary therefrom, their fame and estimation were distained for ever), or else of the authority of the bishop of Rome: yet if all the realm with one accord would apprehend the said succession, in my judgment it is a thing to be amplected and embraced. Which thing, although I trust surely in God that it shall be brought to pass, yet hereunto might not a little avail the consent and oaths of these two persons, the bishop of Rochester and master More, with their adherents, or rather confederates. And if the king's pleasure so were, their said oaths might be suppressed, but when and where his highness might take some commodity by the publishing of the same. Thus our Lord have you ever in his conservation. From my manor at Croydon the xvii day of April, [1534.]

Your own assured ever,

THOMAS CANTUAR.

NUMBER XII. 15

NIX BISHOP OF NORWICH TO WARHAM ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, FOR SUPPRESSING SUCH AS READ BOOKS BROUGHT FROM BEYOND SEA.

[Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. 5, [fol. 360.* British Museum. Original.]

After most humble recommendations, I do your grace to understand, that I am accumbered with such as keepeth and readeth these erroneous books in English, and believe and give credence to the same, and teacheth others that they should so do. My lord, I have done that lieth in me for the suppression of such persons; but it passeth my power, or any spiritual man for to do it. For divers saith openly in my diocese, that the king's grace would that they should have the said erroneous books, and so maintaineth themselves of the king. Whereupon I desired my lord abbot of Hyde[b] to shew this to the king's grace, beseeching him to send his honourable letters, under his seal, down to whom he please in my diocese. That they may shew and publish, that it is not his pleasure that such books should be had or read; and also punish such as saith so. I trust, before this letter shall come unto you, my said lord abbot hath done so. That said abbot hath the names of some, that craketh in the king's name that their false opinions should go forth, and will die in the quarrel that their ungracious opinions be true, and trusteth by Michaelmas-day there shall be more that shall believe of their opinion than they that believeth the contrary. If I had known that your grace had been at London, I would have commanded the said abbot to have spoken with you. But your grace may send for him when you please, and he shall shew you my whole mind in that matter; and how I thought best for the suppression

[b] [i. e. John Salcot, alias Capon, elected bishop of Bangor A.D. 1533, and consecrated April 19, A.D. 1534. See above, pp. 62. 336.]

of such as holdeth these erroneous opinions. For if they continue any time, I think they shall undo us all. The said abbot departed from me on Monday last: and sith that time I have had much trouble and business with others in like matters: and as they say, that whereso-ever they go, they hear say, that the king's pleasure is, the New Testament in English shall go forth, and men should have it and read it. And from that opinion I can noways induce them[c], but I had greater authority to punish them than I have. Wherefore I beseech your good lordship to advertise the king's grace, as I trust the said abbot hath done before this letter shall come unto your grace, that a remedy may be had. But now it may be done well in my diocese; for the gentlemen and the commonalty be not greatly infected; but merchants, and such that have their abiding not far from the sea. The said abbot of Hyde can shew you of a curate, and well learned in my diocese, that exhorted his parishioners to believe contrary to the catholic faith. There is a college in Cambridge, called Gunnel [i. e. Gonville] Hall*, of the foundation of a bishop of Norwich[d]. I hear of no clerk that hath come out lately of that college but savoureth of the frying pan, though he speak never so holily. I beseech your grace to pardon me of my rude and tedious writing to you: the zeal and love that I owe to Almighty God cause me this to do. And thus Almighty God long preserve your grace in good prosperity and health. At Hoxne the xivth day of May, 1530.

* From whence came Shaxton bishop of Sarum, & Skip, queen Anne's chaplain, & bishop of Hereforde.

Your obediensary and daily Orator.

[c] ["Nowise induce them." Cott. MSS.]

[d] [i. e. William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, from A. D. 1343 to 1354. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 210.]

[e] [William Rugge, alias Repps, bishop of Norwich, was also a member of this Hall. See Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge, pp. 78–80. ed. Lond. 1840.]

NUMBER XIII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO KING HENRY, COMPLAINING OF A PRIOR IN CANTERBURY THAT HAD PREACHED AGAINST HIM[f].

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 6. p. 232. [British Museum. Original & holograph.]

Pleaseth it your grace to be advertised, That where, as well by your grace's special letters, dated the third day of June in the xxviith year of your grace's most noble reign, as also by mouth in Winchester, at Michaelmas last past, your grace commanded all the prelates of your realm, that they with all acceleration and expedition should do their diligence, every one in his diocese, fully to persuade your people of the bishop of Rome's authority, that it is but a false and unjust usurpation, and that your grace of very right and by God's law, is the supreme head of this church of England, next immediately unto God: I, to accomplish your grace's commandment, incontinent upon my return from Winchester, (knowing that all the country about Otford and Knol, where my most abode was, were sufficiently instructed in those matters already), came up into these parts of East Kent, only by preaching to persuade

[f] [The date of this letter is fixed by Dr. Jenkyns, A. D. 1536,—(Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 167, n. [k].) (See above, pp. 65–67, where the reference should have been to "Remains" not "Memorials of abp. Cranmer.") The following is the portion of the document, dated June, A. D. 1535, which bears allusion to the bishop of Rochester, and to which Dr. Jenkyns refers, as belonging more accurately to A.D. 1536:—"Likewise at their meetings, they were to set the same (i. e. the supremacy) forth to the people; and also declare the treasons committed by the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who by divers secret practices intended to breed among the people most mischievous opinions, for which they, with some others, had suffered as they deserved." See Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. p. 189, and Append. B. ii. No. 32. vol. iii. part ii. pp. 100-4. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

the people in the said two Articles: and in mine own church at Canterbury, because I was informed, that that town in those two points was least persuaded of all my diocese, I preached there two sermons myself; and as it then chanced, Dr. Leighton was present at my first sermon, being then your grace's visitor[g]. Of whom, if it so please your grace, you may hear the report what I preached.

The scope and effect of both my sermons stood in three things. First, I declared, that the bishop of Rome was not God's vicar in earth, as he was taken: and although it is so taught these three or four hundred years, yet it is done[h] by means of the bishop of Rome, who compelled men by oaths so to teach, to the maintenance of his authority, contrary to God's word. And here I declared by what means and craft the bishop of Rome obtained such usurped authority.

Second, because the see of Rome was called "*sancta sedes Romana*," and the bishop was called "*sanctissimus Papa*;" and men's consciences peradventure could not be quiet to be separated from so holy a place, and from God's most holy vicar; I shewed the people that this thing ought nothing to move them, for it was but a holiness in name; for indeed there was no such holiness at Rome. And hereupon I took occasion to declare his glory, and the pomp of Rome[i], the covetousness, the unchaste living, and the maintenance of all vices.

[g] ["This again confirms the dates given above; (see pp. 65, 6. n. [f].) for it was in Oct. 1535, that Leighton was first employed as visitor of monasteries. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 369." (ed. Oxon, 1829.) Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 168, n. [n]. —See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. p. 285. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[h] ["It was so taught—it was done." Cott. MSS.]

[i] ["The glory and pomp of Rome." Cott. MSS.]

Third, I spake against the bishop of Rome's laws; which he calleth "*divinas leges*" and "*sacros canones,*" and maketh them equal with God's law. And here I declared, that many of the laws were very contrary. And some of them, which were good and laudable, yet they 17
were not of such holiness as he would make them; that is, to be taken as God's laws, or to have remission of sins by observing them[k]. And here I said, that so many of his laws as were good, men ought not to contemn or despise them[l], and wilfully to break them; for those that be good your grace hath received as laws of your realm, until such time as others should be made. And therefore as laws of your realm they must be observed, and not contemned.

And here I spake as well of the ceremonies of the church, as of the foresaid laws; that they ought neither to be rejected nor despised, nor yet to be observed with this opinion, that they of themselves make men holy, or that they remit sins[m]. For seeing that our sins be remitted by the death of our Saviour Christ Jesus, I said it was too much injury to Christ to impute the remission of our sins to any laws or ceremonies of man's making: nor the laws and ceremonies of the church at their first making were ordained for that intent. But as the common laws of your grace's realm be not made to remit sins[m], nor no man doth observe them for that intent, but for a common commodity, and for a good order and quietness to be observed among your subjects; even so were the laws and ceremonies first instituted in the church for a good order, and for remembrances[n] of many good things,

[k] ["By observing of them." Cott. MSS.]

[l] ["Contemn and despise them." Cott. MSS.]

[m] ["To remit sin." Cott. MSS.]

[n] ["And remembrances." Cott. MSS.]

but not for remission of our sins. And though it be good to observe them well for that intent they were first ordained; yet it is not good, but a contumely unto Christ, to observe them with this opinion, that they remit sins[o]; or that the very bare observation of them, in itself, is a holiness before God: although they be remembrances of many holy things, or a disposition unto goodness. And even so do the laws of your grace's realm dispose men unto justice, to peace, and other true and perfect holiness. Wherefore I did conclude for a general rule, that the people ought to observe them as they do the laws of your grace's realm, and with no more opinion of holiness or remission of sin than the other common laws of your grace's realm.

Though my two sermons were long, yet I have written briefly unto your highness the sum of them both. And I was informed by sundry reports that the people were glad that they heard so much as they did; until such time as the prior of the black friars[p] at Canterbury preached a sermon, as it was thought and reported, clean contrary unto all the three things which I had preached before.

For as touching the first part, which I had preached against the erroneous doctrine of the bishop of Rome's power; which error was, that by God's law he should be God's vicar here in earth; the prior would not name the bishop of Rome, but under colour spake generally, That the church of Christ never erred.

[o] ["That they remit sin." Cott. MSS.]

[p] [They were called "Dominican, black, preaching friars; preaching, because they were the only preachers of all the friars: black, because of their habit, which was a black cope and cowl over a white coat: Dominican, because St. Dominic was their founder." Somner's Antiq. of Cant. p. 106. ed. Lond. 1640.]

And as touching the second part, where I spake of the vices of the bishops of Rome; and thereto the prior said[q] that he would not slander the bishops of Rome. And he said openly to me in a good audience, that he knew no vices by none of the bishops of Rome. And he said also openly, that I preached uncharitably when I said, that these many years I had daily prayed unto God that I might see the power of Rome destroyed; and that I thanked God that I had now seen it in this realm. And yet in my sermon I declared the cause whereof I so prayed. For I said, that I perceived the see of Rome work so many things contrary to God's honour, and the wealth of this realm, and I saw no hope of amendment 18
so long as that see reigned over us; and for this cause only I had prayed unto God continually, that we might be separated from that see; and for no private malice or displeasure that I had either to the bishop or see of Rome. But this seemed an uncharitable prayer to the prior[r], that the power of Rome should be destroyed.

And as for the third part, where I preached against the laws of the bishop of Rome; that they ought not to be taken as God's laws, nor to be esteemed so highly as he would have them; the prior, craftily leaving out the name of the bishop of Rome, preached that the laws of the church be equal with God's laws. These things he preached, as it is proved both by sufficient witness, and also by his own confession.

I leave the judgment hereof unto your grace, and to your council, whether this were a defence of the bishop of Rome, or not. And I only, according to my bounden

[q] ["And their see; the prior said." Cott. MSS.]

[r] ["To the said prior." Cott. MSS.]

duty, have reported the truth of the fact. But in mine opinion, if he had spoken nothing else, yet whosoever saith that the church never erred maintaineth the bishop of Rome's power. For if that were not erroneous, that was taught of his power, That he is Christ's vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, spiritual and temporal; and that all people must believe that "*de necessitate salutis*," and that whosoever doeth any thing against the see of Rome is an heretic; and that he hath authority also in purgatory; with such other many false things, which were taught in times past to be articles of our faith: if these things were not erroneous, yea, and errors in the faith, then must needs your grace's laws be erroneous, that pronounce the bishop of Rome to be of no more power by God's law than other bishops, and them to be traitors that defend the contrary. This is certain that whosoever saith, that the church never erred, must either deny, that the church ever taught any such errors of the bishop of Rome's power, and then they speak against that which all the world knoweth, and all books written of that matter these three or four hundred years do testify; or else they must say that the said errors be none errors, but truths. And then it is both treason and heresy.

At my first examination of him, which was before Christmas, he said, that he preached not against me, nor that I had preached any thing amiss. But now he saith, that I preached amiss in very many things, and that he purposely preached against me[s]; and this he reporteth openly; by which words I am marvellously

[s] ["This change may have arisen from the execution of Anne Boleyn in the preceding May, which tended greatly to raise the spirits of the popish party. It would seem however

slandered in these parts. And for this cause I beseech your grace, that I may not have the judgment of the cause, forasmuch as he taketh me for a party; but that your grace would commit the hearing thereof[t] unto my lord privy seal[u]; or else to associate unto me some other persons[w] at your grace's pleasure, that we may hear the case jointly together.

If this man, who hath so highly offended your grace, and preached against me openly, being ordinary and metropolitan of this province; and that in such matters as concern the misliving[x], and the laws of the bishop of Rome; and that also within mine own church; if he, I say, be not looked upon, I leave unto your grace's prudence to expend, what example this may be unto others with like colour to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority; and also of what estimation I shall be reputed hereafter, and what credence shall be given unto my preaching, whatsoever I shall say 19 hereafter.

I beseech your grace to pardon me of my long and tedious writing; for I could not otherwise set the matter forth plain. And I most heartily thank your grace for the stag, which your grace sent unto me from Windsor forest: which if your grace knew for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many ways it did me service, I am sure you would think it much the better bestowed. Thus our Lord have your highness always in his pre-

from letter clxviii. (Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. letter clxxii. p. 322. Park. Soc. ed.) that they had been gaining ground before that event." Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 171, 2. n. p.]

[t] ["The hearing hereof." Cott. MSS.]

[u] [i. e. Crumwel.]

[w] ["Some other person." Cott. MSS.]

[x] ["As concern the authority, misliving." Cott. MSS.]

servation and governance. From Ford the xxvi day of August. [1536.]

Your grace's most humble chaplain
and beadsman,
T. CANTUARIEN.

NUMBER XIV.

THE ARCHBISHOP TO MR. SECRETARY CRUMWEL, CONCERNING HIS STYLING HIMSELF PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. F. 1. p. 260. [British Museum. Original. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. Appendix. vol. iii. B. 3. No. 37. pp. 120-123.]

RIGHT worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. Most heartily thanking you for that you have signified unto me, by my chaplain Master Champion, the complaint of the bishop of Winchester[y] unto the king's highness in two things concerning my visitation. The one is, that in my style I am written "*totius Angliæ primas*," to the derogation and prejudice of the king's high power and authority, being supreme head of the church. The other is, that his diocese not past five years agone was visited by my predecessor, and must from henceforth pay the tenth part of the spiritualties according to the act granted in the last session of parliament[z]; wherefore he thinketh that his diocese should not be charged with my visitation at this time.

First, as concerning my style, wherein I am named "*totius Angliæ primas*," I suppose that to make his cause good, (which else indeed were naught), he doth mix it

[y] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[z] [The act for the subsidy, (26. Hen. VIII. c. 19.) and the act for the valuation of the tenths, &c. (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3.) were both passed in the session which began the 3rd of Nov. 1534. See Statutes of the Realm. vol. iii. pp. 493, 516. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. p. 325, et seqq. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 320. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

with the king's cause, (as ye know the man lacketh neither learning in the law, neither witty invention, nor craft to set forth his matters to the best), that he might appear not to maintain his own cause, but the king's; against whose highness, he knoweth right well, that I will maintain no cause, but give place, and lay both my cause and myself at my prince's feet. But to be plain what I think of the bishop of Winchester, I cannot persuade with myself that he so much tendereth the king's cause as he doth his own, that I should not visit him: and that appeareth by the very time. For if he cast no further than the defence[a] of the king's grace's authority, or if he intended that at all, why moved he not the matter before he received my monition for my visitation; which was within four miles of Winchester delivered unto him the xxth day of April last, as he came up to the court. Moreover I do not a little marvel why he should now find fault rather than he did before, when he took the bishop of Rome as chief head[b]. For though the bishop of Rome was taken for supreme head, notwithstanding that he had a great number of primates under him; and by having his primates under him, his supreme authority was not less esteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the king's highness, being supreme head, have primates under him, without a distinguishing[c], but with the augmenting of his said supreme authority? And of this I doubt not at all, but [that] the bishop of Winchester knoweth, as

[a] ["No further but the defence." Cott. MSS.]

[b] ["The archbishop of Canterbury's title was also in convocation ordered to be altered: instead of the title of 'legate of the apostolic see,' he was to be designed 'metropolitan, and primate.' This last was one of his ancient titles." Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. p. 199. The proceedings of the convocation are given in Wilkins' Concilia. vol. iii. p. 769.]

[c] ["Without any diminishing." Cott. MSS.]

well as any man living, that in case this said style or title had been in any point impediment or hinderance to the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, it would not have so long been unreformed as it hath been. For I doubt not but all the bishops of England would ever gladly have had the archbishops' both authority and title taken away[d], that they might have been equal together: which well appeareth by the many contentions against the archbishops for jurisdiction in the court of Rome; which had been easily brought to pass, if the bishops of Rome had thought the archbishops' titles and styles to be any derogation to their supreme authority.

All this notwithstanding, if the bishops of this realm pass no more of their names, styles, and titles than I do of mine, the king's highness shall soon order the matter betwixt us all[e]. And if I saw that my style were against the king's authority, (whereunto I am especially sworn), I would sue myself unto his grace that I might leave it; and so would have done before this time. For I pray God never be merciful unto me at the general judgment, if I perceive in my heart that I set more by any title, name, or style that I write, than I do by the paring of an apple, further than it shall be to the setting forth of God's word and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herein; for God must be judge, who knoweth the bottom of my heart, and so do not I myself: but I speak for so much as I do feel in my heart; for many evil affections lie lurking there, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any just thing at the pleasure and suit of the bishop of Winchester, he being none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is. Even at the beginning of Christ's[f] pro-

[d] ["And the title taken away." Burnet.]

[e] ["Between us all." Cot. MSS.]

[f] ["The beginning first of Christ's profession." Cott. MSS.]

fession, Diotrephes desired "*gerere primatum in ecclesia,*" as saith St. John in his last Epistle: and since, he hath had more successors than all the apostles had, of whom have come all these glorious titles, styles, and pomps into the church. But I would that I, and all my brethren the bishops, would leave all our styles, and write the style of our offices, calling ourselves "*apostolos Jesu Christi:*" so that we took not upon us the name vainly, but were so even indeed; so that we might order our diocese in such sort, that neither paper, parchment, lead, nor wax, but the very Christian conversation of the people might be the letters and seals of our offices, as the Corinthians were unto Paul, to whom he said; "*Literæ nostræ et signa apostolatus nostri vos estis.*"

Now for the second, where the bishop of Winchester allegeth the visitation of my predecessor, and the tenth part now to be paid to the king; truth it is, that my predecessor visited the diocese of Winchester after the decease of my lord cardinal [Wolsey], as he did all other dioceses "*sede vacante;*" but else I think, it was not visited by none of my predecessors this forty years. And notwithstanding that, he himself, not considering their 21
charges at that time, charged them with a new visitation within less than half a year after; and that against all right, as Dr. Incent hath reported to my chancellor; the clergy at that time paying to the king half of their benefices in five years[g], which is the tenth part every year, as they paid before, and have paid since, and shall pay still for ever by the last act. But I am very glad, that he

[g] ["The convocation of 1523 granted to the king, mediam partem 'valoris omnium fructuum, &c....., intra quinque annos levandam.' But the act contained a protestation, that this grant was new and unusual, occasioned by their special regard for his majesty, and not to be drawn into a precedent. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 699." Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 138, n. e.]

hath now some compassion of his diocese, although at that time he had very small, when he did visit them the same year that my predecessor did visit. And all other bishops[h], whose course is to visit this year, kept their visitations[i], where I did visit the last year, notwithstanding the tenth part to be paid to the king's grace. Howbeit I do not so in Winchester diocese; for it is now the third year since that diocese was visited by any man, so that he hath the least cause to complain of any bishop, for it is longer since his diocese was visited than the other. Therefore where he layeth, to aggravate the matter, the charges of the late act granted, it is no more against me, than against all other bishops that do visit this year, nor maketh no more against me this year, than it made against me the last year, and shall do every year hereafter. For if they were true men, in accounting and paying the king's subsidies[j], they are no more charged by this new act than they were for the space of ten years past, and shall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude; if my said lord of Winchester's objections should be allowed this year, he might by such arguments both disallow all manner visitations, that hath be[en] done these ten years past, and that ever shall be done hereafter. Now I pray you, good master secretary, of your advice, whether I shall need to write unto the king's highness herein. And thus our Lord have you ever in his preservation. At Otford the 12th day of May. [A.D. 1535.]

Your own ever assured,

THOMAS CANTUAR.

[h] ["And also other bishops." Cott. MSS.]
[i] ["Keep their visitation." Cott. MSS.]
[j] ["King's subsidy." Cott. MSS.]

NUMBER XV.

THE APPEAL OF STOKESLY, BISHOP OF LONDON, TO THE KING, AGAINST THE ARCHBISHOP'S VISITATION.

Contra Visitationem Archiep. Cant.

[Cotton MSS. Cleop. F. 2. p. 124. [British Museum. Original.]

First, that the archbishop of Canterbury in all his monitions and writings, sent to the bishop, abbots, priors, and archdeacons of London, concerning this, his visitation, called himself "apostolicæ sedis legatum:" and that therefore the bishop of London, with the chapter, did not only advertise the archbishop thereof by their letters before the day of visitation[k]; but also the same day of the commencement thereof in the chapter-house of Powles[l], the said bishop and chapter, before the delivery of the certificate to the archbishop made there openly a protestation, reading it in writing, signifying, that they 22 would neither accept him as such a legate, nor admit, nor obey his visitation, jurisdiction, nor any thing that he would attempt by the pretext or colour of that name of legate, or otherwise, against the crown of our sovereign, his regality, statutes, or customs of his realm. And required the said archbishop to command his register there present to enact the said protestation, which he refused utterly to do; shewing himself not willing to admit the said protestation.

Item, That the archbishop in his said monition to the bishop did expressly intimate and signify to him, that he would in his visitation suspend all the jurisdiction of the bishop, the dean, and archdeacons from the beginning thereof to the ending. In such wise, that the bishop, nor his officers, dean, nor archdeacon, should or might at that

[k] ["Day of the visitation." Cott. MSS.]

[l] [i. e. Paul's.]

time, (which he would not determine how long it should endure), use no jurisdiction, whatsoever causes, or necessities should chance of correction, institutions of benefices, confirmations of election, consecrations of churches, celebrations of orders, or probation of testaments, with many other things mo[re]appertaining "ad forum contentiosum." But all and every of these the archbishop and his [officers][m] would have, and suffer none other to use and exercise the same, unto the end of his visitation, which he hath now continued until the first day of December; pretending that then he may likewise continue it other six months, and so forth without end at his pleasure during his life, from time to time. So that by this means he only, and none other, should be bishop, but "titularis," in all his province during his life, but at his pleasure. Which were an inconvenience intolerable, and such as never was read, nor heard of, that ever any metropolitan, private legate, or bishop of Rome, in the most tyranny[n] had usurped the semblable.

Item, That all men learned and books of the canon law doth agree, that no metropolitan, or primate may thus, by any law written, suspend all the jurisdiction of the bishops, for the time of their visitations, or exercise the premises during the same "jure metropolitico." And this the counsel of the archbishop doth not deny, nor cannot.

Item, Where the said archbishop doth pretend that his predecessors times past hath put in use and exercise[o] all the premises; and so, though the common law doth not favour him, yet he may lean to prescription: First, it is to be considered and remembered, that the suspension of all jurisdiction of all the bishops in manner aforesaid

[m] [The word "officers" is not found in the Cotton MSS.; it has been inserted by the author.]

[n] ["In his most tyranny." Cott. MSS.]

[o] ["Use or exercise." Cott. MSS.]

seemeth to be against holy Scripture, and the authority given unto them by God; and as it was said before, that suspension were a thing pernicious, not read, nor heard of, to have be[en] attempted by the most tyranny of all the bishops of Rome, without the great offence of the bishop. And as for the rest, considering that none of his predecessors this hundred years did visit thus his province; and therefore no man living can know this by experience, it had been necessary for the archbishop to have shewed books for the proof of these his sayings and pretences; which he and his officers, being thereunto desired, as well before the visitation as sithence, ever did refuse and defer to do.

Item, It is to be remembered, that in case it shall appear in any book of the archbishop that his predecessors have attempted any of the premises; First, that his pre- 23
decessors were legates, and though they did visit "jure metropolitico," yet they might peradventure, as legates, attempt some things, which they had had no right nor colour to do, if they had be[en] only metropolitans and primates. Secondarily, in this behalf and case it is to be remembered, that many of those archbishops of Canterbury were not only legates, but also chancellors of England. By the which authority they peradventure did enforce and maintain many things attempted against the law, as the late cardinal[p] did. And therefore it is to be dissevered what they did as legates, and what as metropolitans, and what by force after repealed, and what by right peaceably enjoyed. And not to [knit[q]] now "jure metropolitico" such things as were done by his predecessors, as legates; nor to challenge prescription,

[p] [i. e. Wolsey.]

[q] [This word is omitted by Strype in the original edition of his Memorials of abp. Cranmer.]

now the authority of the see of Rome [is] repealed and here extinguished in such things, as were attempted only by the pretext of the authority of that see; or else after were appealed, repealed, or resisted. Thirdly, in this cause it is to be remembered, that it appears by[r] the ancient registers of the bishops and their churches, that when the predecessors of the archbishop did attempt any of these causes aforesaid, the bishops and their clergy did appeal to the see of Rome. And divers times they obtained sentences and executions against him: and some remained undecided by the reason of the death of the archbishop or bishop complainant for remedy and redress of the same. In like manner as we, your faithful subjects, have now for this our grief appealed unto your majesty.

Item, It is to be considered, whether any metropolitan in other Christian realms, being now legate, doth exercise the premises after the form now here pretended, in his visitation. And in case they do not, as it is said they do not attempt any such things, but only, in their visitations provincial, useth that the common law giveth them, then here to be repealed and extinguished for ever. To the intent that the bishops of Rome hereafter shall have no colour to maintain and justify that they keep here yet, and continue the possession of their authority, and of our subjection by their legate. Saying, that although the archbishop doth relinquish the name of a legate, yet nevertheless he exerciseth such jurisdiction as the laws never gave to metropolitans, nor no archbishops in Christendom doth exercise, (legates of the see of Rome only excepted). And therefore it is to be provided, that no sparks remain, whereby he might suscitate any such flame, if the matter should come in question.

[r] ["It appeareth by." Cott. MSS.]

Finally, It is to be remembered, that the bishops nor their clergy do not refuse to accept and obey the visitation of the archbishop as metropolitan, and to pay to him proxies due and accustomed. But where the bishops hath not only the common laws, but also bulls and sentences executed against his predecessors, and that long before the making of the statutes against "provisions," declaring what sums he shall not pass for the proxies[s] of their churches, the officers of the archbishop demandeth much more; neither shewing the law, (for there is none to bear them), nor yet precedent or example in any ancient books, whereby they might be satisfied. Which done, he should without difficulty or grudge have forthwith all his proxies upon the conclusion of his visitation. Unto the which time it is not due in money. Many other things 24
and considerations there be to be alleged concerning the premises, which may be spoken in time and place, as the debating of the matter shall require.

And for a conclusion, it may please your majesty to be advertised, that if my lord of Canterbury can shew by ancient precedents that any his predecessors have used peaceably the premises without interruption, and so have enjoyed the same, those precedents shewed and brought in presence, allowed also by your learned council in the laws[t] spiritual to be precedents sufficient and of authority in this behalf; we shall then immediately in all the premises obey the said archbishop without any further contradiction. In this our so doing, whether we offer him reason or not, we refer us only to your majesty, and unto your gracious judgment. Humbly beseeching the same, that forasmuch as all the laws be for us, and this

[s] ["For his proxies." Cott. MSS.]

[t] ["Council of the laws." Cott. MSS.]

hundred years past; and now also in our days we have not heard nor seen the contrary used to the said laws: we now most lowly, as your poor and true subjects, desire your majesty, that with your gracious favour and license we may use such defence as your laws, and your high court of your parliament, hath politicly provided for us and other your subjects.

NUMBER XVI.

AN INVENTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. SWITHIN'S IN WINCHESTER, AS IT WAS GIVEN IN BY THE PRIOR AND CONVENT TO CRUMWEL, SECRETARY OF STATE, AND THE KING'S VICAR GENERAL OVER ALL SPIRITUAL MEN.

And first of the things that are abroad in the church.

C.C.C.C. MS. Miscel. G.[u] Imprimis, the nether part of the high altar, being of plate of gold, garnished with stones. The front above being of brodering work and pearls, and above that a table of images of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.

Item, Above that altar a great cross, and an image of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, Behind the high altar St. Swithin's shrine, being of plate silver and gilt, and garnished with stones.

Item, In the body of the church a great cross, and an image of Christ and Mary and John, being of plate silver and partly gilt.

Item, A cross of plate of silver and gilt, with an image over the iron door. And the two images of Mary and John are but copper gilt.

[u] [MSS. C. C. C. C. No. cxlix. p. 355.]

THE INVENTORY OF THE SEXTRE. 25

Jewels of gold.

Imprimis, There are in the sextre five crosses of gold, garnished with precious stones. And one of the five is but of plate of gold fixed upon wood.

Item, One shrine of plate of gold garnished with precious stones.

Item, One little pair of candlesticks of gold.

Item, One little box of gold with his cover to bear the holy Sacrament.

Item, Three chalices of gold, and one of them garnished with precious stone.

Item, One little pax of gold.

Item, One little sacring bell of gold.

Item, Four pontifical rings of gold with precious stones.

Item, One pectoral of gold set with stones.

Item, One pectoral, partly gold, partly silver and gilt, set with stones.

Item, Two saints' arms of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, St. Philip's foot, covered with plate of gold, and with stones.

Item, A book of the four evangelists, written all with gold; and the utter side is of plate of gold.

Jewels of silver.

Imprimis, One table of our lady, being of silver and gilt.

Item, Nine crosses of silver and gilt, and one of crystal.

Item, One and twenty shrines, some all silver and gilt, and some part silver and gilt, and part copper and gilt,

and some part silver and part ivory, and some copper and gilt, and some set with garnished stones.

Item, Twelve chalices of silver and gilt, belonging to the sextre, and to the altars and chantries founded in the church.

Item, Four paxes of silver and gilt belonging to the sextre, and other altars.

Item, Six casts of candlesticks belonging to the sextre, and the chantries, being of silver and gilt.

Item, One candlestick of silver belonging to St. Swithin's shrine.

Item, Six pair of cruets of silver belonging to the sextre and chantries.

Item, Seven censers of silver and gilt.

Item, Two sarys, one of silver and gilt, and the other only of silver.

Item, Three pair of basins of silver and gilt.

Item, Two ewers, one of them silver and gilt, and the other only silver.

Item, Six images of silver and gilt.

Item, One and thirty collars, six of them garnished with plate of silver, and gilt, and stones; the residue of broidering work and pearls.

Item, Six pectorals of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.

Item, Three pastoral staves of silver and gilt.

26 Item, One pastoral staff of an unicorn's horn.

Item, Three standing mitres of silver and gilt, garnished with pearls and precious stones.

Item, Ten old mitres, garnished with pearls and stones, after the old fashion.

Item, One rector's staff of unicorn's horn.

Item, Four processional staves of plates of silver.

Item, Four sacring bells of silver and gilt, belonging to the sextre and altars.

Item, Nine pixes of crystal, partly garnished with silver and gilt.

Item, Seven tables with relics fixed in them; and four of them are of plate of silver and gilt, and the three other of copper and gilt.

Item, Five saints' heads, and four of them of plate of silver and gilt, and the first painted.

Item, Three saints' arms, two of them covered with plate of silver and gilt, and the third is painted.

Item, Seven books, the outer parts of them being plates of silver and gilt.

Item, One book of king Henry the Seventh's foundation, covered with velvet, and garnished with bosses of silver and gilt.

Copes.

Imprimis, One principal cope of needlework, wrought with gold and pearls.

Item, One chysible. Two tymasyles, and parel of the albes of the same work, of my lord cardinal Beaufort's gift.

Item, Eight and twenty other copes of divers other works and colours, and divers men's gifts.

Item, Forty-two copes of tissue: the one half of them blue and the other of red.

Item, Twenty copes of red bawdkyne, wrought with connes.

Item, Eight white copes. Four of them of white velvet, and the other four of white damask, brodered with white red roses.

Item, Eight and twenty copes of white bawdkyne, woven with copper gold.

Item, Nine and twenty copes of blue silk woven with rays of gold.

Item, Thirty other copes of divers colours and works; and many of them perished.

Chysybils, Tunicles, and Stoles.

Item, Imprimis, Eleven principal chysybils with tunicles of divers sorts and suits.

Item, Six and thirty old chysybils of divers colours and works, and been commonly used, and some of them per-used.

Item, Fourteen stoles of needlework.

27 *Hangings for the altars.*

Item, Eight divers hangings for the high altar, some of them precious, and some of them of less value.

Item, One and twenty pair of hangings for the altars of the church.

Vestments, albes, &c.

Item, Twelve albes of silk.

Item, Of linen albes, belonging to the sextre and other altars, 326.

Item, Vestments belonging to the altars and chantries are of divers values and works, to the number of twenty-six.

Item, Corporaws cases, and corporaws thirty-six.

Item, Altar cloths of diaper and linen one and twenty.

Item, Mass books thirteen, belonging to the sextre and altars.

The inventory of our Lady's chapel.

Imprimis, Five little shrines of copper and gilt.

Item, Three chalices of silver and gilt.

Item, Two paxes, the one of silver and gilt, and the other of silver.

Item, Two pair of beads, and silver and gilt, being but of ten stones apiece.

Item, Three chappels of divers suites.

Item, Two copys of silk.

Item, Thirteen albes, and three of them white silk.

Item, Three collars for the three altars of silk, garnished with plate of silver and gilt, and with stones.

Item, Four altar cloths of linen.

Item, Two altars of silk for the altar.

The inventory of the prior's house.

Imprimis, Six salts, with three covers of silver and gilt.

Item, Six spoons of silver and gilt.

Item, Five and twenty other spoons of silver.

Item, Three standing cups; one plain, and other two swaged, with their covers of silver and gilt.

Item, Seven bollis of silver and gilt, with one cover.

Item, Six silver cups with one cover.

Item, Four nuts with three covers.

Item, Two masers with one cover.

Item, Two silver basins with their ewers.

Item, Two gallon pots of silver and gilt, to serve Peter and Paul. 28

Item, Two small silver pots.

Item, Two chalices of silver and gilt.

The inventory of the sub-prior's house.

Item, Two salts of silver and gilt, with a cover.

Item, One little salt of silver, with a cover.

Item, Three silver pieces.

Item, Eighteen silver spoons.

Item, Three old masers perused.

The inventory of the hordar's house.

Item, Two salts of silver and gilt, with a cover.

Item, One standing nut with a cover.

Item, Three silver pieces.

Item, Eighteen silver spoons.

Item, Three old masers perused.

The inventory of the fratrie.

Imprimis, One standing cup of mother pearl, the foot and cover being of silver and gilt.

Item, Two great bowls of silver.

Item, One standing cup of silver and gilt, with his cover.

Item, One standing massar with a cover of wood.

Item, Three great bowls of wood with bonds of silver and gilt.

Item, Seven and thirty silver spoons of divers fashions.

Item, Four old massars perused.

NUMBER XVII.

A REPLY TO THE ARCHBISHOP AGAINST HIS COURT OF AUDIENCE.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleopatra, f. 1. p. 88. [British Museum. Original.]

To the first, his protestation sheweth no more, but that he is not to be suspected to keep that court of his audience by the authority of any legacy from Rome, as by the name of legate of Rome. But forasmuch as no archbishop within Christendom hath nor never had any authority to keep any such court by the reason of the archbishopric[a], but only legates of the see of Rome; which legates what vexations and oppressions they have done by the pretence thereof, not only to ordinaries, but also to the layfee, by calling of poor men from the furthest parts of the realm to London for an half-

[a] ["Of his archbishopric." Cott. MSS.]

penny candle, or for a little opprobrious word, as was declared and proved plainly in this parliament; which was a great cause of making of a statute[b] to remedy that, before the statute of the abolishment of the bishop of Rome's authority within this realm[c]: insomuch that this execution of legacies in other jurisdictions and realms hath been one of the greatest and intolerablest usurpations of the bishop of Rome these many years among the commonalty, and therefore a thing most necessary of reformation. In consideration of the pre- 29
mises, no archbishop can exercise this authority, except he implieth to all the world, (though he speak it not, nor write it not), that he is a legate of the see of Rome. And in case it shall please the king's grace to give like authority, notwithstanding so many incommodities to his grace's subjects by the use[d] thereof, and not one commodity at all to be abiden by, it should seem better to give it to some other by special commission at his grace's pleasure. Whereby it shall be known certainly to come from his grace, rather than to join it to the archbishop's see: whereby the old poison might still lurk and break out one day again, if it should chance some to be archbishop of Canterbury that would change their copy, as hath been in times past.

And moreover, if his grace should make his legate[e], it should peradventure derogate the power of his grace's general vicar. And if both should occupy, then shall the people so much the rather take occasion to think and say,

[b] [23° Hen. VIII. c. 9. "An act that no person shall be called out of the diocese where he or she dwelleth, except in certain cases." See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 377.]

[c] [28° Hen. VIII. c. 10. "An act extinguishing the authority of the bishop of Rome." Id. vol. iii. p. 663.]

[d] ["Subjects proved by the use." Cott. MSS.]

[e] ["Make him his legate." Cott. MSS.]

that his grace's vicar exerciseth the power of a legate by his grace's authority, and the archbishop of Canterbury by authority of the bishop of Rome.

And where the archbishop saith, that he seeth no cause why he should not keep that court, at the least by authority of the act of parliament, as all others enjoy by that act all things, that they had before from the see of Rome; it seems[f] that he never read the said act; nor yet can discern betwixt a thing absolute, that may endure without a dependence, and an advowson in gross, and a thing that standeth in a continual dependence, as service to the seignory. For exemptions and dispensations, and such others be absolutes, depending nothing of the granter after his grant. But legacies be but respectives; and as no longer lord, no longer service, so no longer bishop of Rome lord here, no longer his vicar, which was but his servant; as appeareth by the text of his legacy, whereof these be the words in the chapter, "*Quum non ignoretis de officio legati, qui in provincia sua vices nostras gerere comprobatur.*" And the act of parliament which he allegeth is so plain to every reader, that it cannot be drawn with twenty team of oxen to stretch to the continuance of this court of his audience. It is in the xxist chapter of the session anno xxv. and in the xxvith leaf in the latter end[g]. The words thereof there be these: "provided always that this act, or any thing therein contained shall not hereafter be taken, nor expounded, to the derogation, or taking away, of any grants or confirmations of any liberties, privileges or jurisdictions of any monasteries, abbeys, priories, or other houses or places exempt; which before the making of

[f] ["It seemeth." Cott. MSS.]

[g] [25° Hen. VIII. c. 215. xvii. "An act from the exoneration from exactions paid to the see of Rome." See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. pp. 464, 470.]

this act, have been obtained at the see of Rome, or by the authority thereof." Lo! this act speaketh only of exemptions, which is a thing absolute: and that only of houses exempt, and of their jurisdictions. Which might be suffered upon their few parochians and neighbours; as prebends have in their cathedral churches. But this act speaketh not of no jurisdiction universal of archbishops, bishops, or other persons. Legacy is of that other sort, and universal jurisdiction depending on him, that usurped an universal authority through the world.

And considering, that the bishop of Canterbury beside all the courts within his own diocese, keepeth in London a court at the Arches, sufficiently authorized to hear and to determine all causes and complaints appertaining to a 30
metropolitan; why should he require this other court of the audience[h], to keep it in London, within the church and jurisdiction of another bishop, except he minded to call other bishops obediently out of their jurisdictions contrary to the act? Or else at the least, forasmuch as this court is kept within the church and jurisdiction of London, and the Arches court within the city, but not within the jurisdiction, if he may not vex the citizens and diocesans of London at the Arches, without an appeal first from the ordinary[i] immediately, because of the canon laws, yet he might pull them to his audience at Paul's, as he did heretofore by his legacy, and yet offend not that act made anno xxiii., 'That no man shall be called out of his own diocese.'

And where the archbishop saith, that the king's grace bade him continue that court still, it is to be marvelled that he then hath not, in his citations and other writings

[h] ["Of his audience." Cott. MSS.]

[i] ["From his ordinary." Cott. MSS.]

of that court, expressed or signified the same, as he did call himself in all his writings[j] "legatum apostolicæ sedis" long after that act of the abolishing.

[NUMBER XVII.*

Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 858. ex MSS. Sancroft. Arch. Cant. apud Th. Tanner, episc. Asaph.

"Statutum de numero Procuratorum Curiæ Cantuar', confirmatum per dominum Thomam Cranmer, Cantuar' archiepiscopum. THOMAS, permissione Cant' Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, illustrissimi et potentissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Henrici VIII. Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regis, fidei defensoris, et domini Hiberniæ, ac sub Christo in terra supremi capitis ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ad infrascripta etiam parliamenti auctoritate legitime fulcitus, dilectis nobis in Christo filiis, vicario nostro in spiritualibus generali, officiali curiæ nostræ Cant' de Arcubus nuncupat', decanoque decanatus ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Arcubus prædict', ac prærogativæ nostræ commissario generali; necnon Johanni Hering, Johanni Talcorne, Richardo Watkins, Anthonio Hussaws, Thomæ Stacy, Richardo Feyld, Jchanni Trevison, Johanni Clerk, Simoni Leston, Henrico Bosfell, Thomæ Dockery, Roberto Johnson, Willielmo Coveyke, et Davidi Clopham, dictæ curiæ procuratoribus generalibus, ac cæteris earundem curiarum nostrarum ministris, tam præsentibus quam futuris, ac aliis quibuscunque, quos infrascripta tangunt, seu tangere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem, ac fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere.

Cum non sit minus pium atque laudabile lapsa reficere, quam nova condere; cura et solicitudine pastorali animadvertere et providere tenemur, ne quæ olim a sanctis patribus nostræ metropoliticæ Cant' archiepiscopis præ-

[j] [See above, pp. 97–100.]

decessoribus nostris pie et sancte, tam pro honore et celebri fama dictæ curiæ nostræ Cant' quibus antiquitus præ cæteris fulgere dignoscitur, quam pro consideratione ministrorum ejusdem statuta, ordinata, stabilita, et fundata fuerunt, nostris temporibus labantur, deficiant, aut pereant; imo ut consimilibus honore et fama dictæ curiæ nostræ audient' et prærogativæ fulciantur et decorentur. Nos igitur Thomas Cranmer, archiepiscopus, primas, et metropolitanus antedictus, præmissa attente pensantes, et oculate considerantes, ad quem non solum conservatio, continuatio, et confirmatio statutorum prædecessorum nostrorum prædictorum, verum etiam eorundem augmentatio et incrementum notorie dignoscitur pertinere; vestris supplicationibus inclinati, et grato annuentes assensu; ac tam dictæ curiæ nostræ Cant' de Arcubus London', et aliarum curiarum nostrarum hujusmodi honori, quam vestris quieti et commoditati consulere volentes; statutum felic' rec' Roberti de Winchelsey, olim Cant' archiepiscopi[k], sic incipiens; 'Statuimus insupier, ut xvi advocati et x procuratores duntaxat,' etc. una cum ordinatione, statuto, stabilitione, et confirmatione bonæ memoriæ Will. Warham Cant' archiepiscopi, prædecessorum nostrorum desuper fact', edit' et ordinat', auctoritate etiam capitulari dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ metropoliticæ Cant' confirmat', quorum tenores, quatenus expedit, pro his insertis haberi et inscribi volumus, pro nobis et futuris successoribus nostri Cant' archiepiscopis, in quantum eadem statuta, ordinatio, stabilitio, et cætera præmissa dictos procuratores et hujusmodi eorum numerum tangunt et concernunt, etiam ex mero motu et certa scientia nostris præsentium tenore reintegramus, ratificamus, approbamus, confirmamus, corroboramus, et pro perpetuo consolidamus perenniter observand', atque perpetuis futuris temporibus inviolabiliter

[k] [A. D. 1292–1313. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 5.]

observari volumus et mandamus. Volumus insuper, ac ex mero motu et certa scientia nostris, ut supra, ordinamus, atque pro nobis et futuris successoribus nostris Cant' archiepiscopis perpetue statuendo, ordinando, et stabiliendo mandamus, quatenus de cætero nullus prorsus in numerum procuratorum præfatarum curiarum nostrarum, aut alicujus earundem admittatur, seu procuratoris officium in eisdem curiis aut earum aliqua exercere quovismodo permittatur, donec et quousque numerus præfat' procuratorum superius nominatorum jam existentium usque ad numerum novem decreverit et pervenerit, nec numerus ipsorum decem procuratorum ullatenus deinceps excedatur, etiamsi in contrarium a nobis aut dictis successoribus nostris Cant' archiepiscopis, vobis in mandatis haberi, seu alias indulgeri vel dispensari contigerit; quibusvis clausulis dispensationum, commissionum, privileg' seu indult' præsentium derogatoriis, cæterisque in contrarium facientibus, non obstant', nec in futurum valituris quibuscunque, etiamsi de hujusmodi statuto, ordination', stabilition', confirmation', et corroboration', ac cæteris præmissis, seu de præsenti ordinatione nostra hujusmodi de verbo ad verbum specialis, specifica, expressa, et individua fiat mentio; decernentes, quod in contrarium fieri contigerit, exnunc prout extunc, et extunc prout exnunc, irritum et inane, viribus quoque et effectu juris et facti omnino carere, prout tenore præsentium sic decernimus. Volentes præterea ac vobis vicario generali, officiali, decano, et prærogativæ commissario hujusmodi præsentibus, et quibuscunque in eisdem officiis futuris firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus vos proximis sessionibus in dictis curiis nostris audientiæ, de Arcubus, et prærogativæ Cant' præsentationem et intimationem præsentium vobis factas immediate sequentibus, has præsentes literas nostras publicari et divulgari, ac inter alia statuta

et ordinationes ipsarum curiarum nostrarum registrari et inseri faciatis, necnon pro statutis haberi et reputari, et debite ac inviolabiliter observari, vestris respective decretis judicialibus ibidem publice decernatis, et vestrum quilibet respective decernat. Ut autem præmissa omnia et singula per nos, ut præmittitur, superius facta et gesta, perpetuæ firmitatis robur perenniter obtineant, nec super illis ulla dubietatis seu ambiguitatis valeat questio suboriri; nos Thomas archiepiscopus, primas, et metropolitanus antedictus, has nostras præsentes literas sigilli nostri ad facultates, quo utimur in ea parte, fecimus appensione muniri. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lambith 12 die mensis Januarii anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ MDXLI. felicissimi regni dicti potentissimi et invictissimi principis et domini nostri regis anno XXXIII. et nostræ consecrationis anno nono.

T. CANT."

Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol ii. Appendix, pp. 491—493. Park. Soc. ed.]

NUMBER XVIII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S ORDER CONCERNING THE PROCTORS OF THE COURT OF ARCHES, SHEWN TO BE INCONVENIENT, BY A PAPER PRESENTED TO THE PARLIAMENT, AS FOLLOWETH.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. F. 2. p. 91. [British Museum. Original.]

ALTHOUGH it be expedient, that every thing, which any way may be noiful unto the common weal, be duly reformed; yet is there nothing that should be rather looked upon for reformation, than such abuses as may be occasion of not indifferent ministration of justice. Wherefore among so many things as heretofore hath been well and condignly reformed, touching other the spiritualty, or the temporalty, there is nothing that requireth speedier

reformation[1], than a certain ordinance lately procured in the court of the Arches at London, by the means of the proctors there, for the advancement of their singular will only. By which may and do come divers abuses in the said court, and occasion not indifferent ministration of justice, and chargeable and prolix process there. The effect whereof is this.

The proctors of the said court of Arches hath of late, upon feigned suggestion, surmised unto the most reverend father in God, my lord archbishop of Canterbury, president and head of the said court, to have been for the common weal and ease of his provincials, induced his grace to make such an ordinance or statute in the said court of the Arches, That where heretofore there were in the same twenty or twenty-four proctors, and my said lord's grace at his liberty always to admit mo[re] or fewer proctors there, as should be seen expedient to his grace for the sufficient attending of the causes there depending for the time; there should be from thenceforth no mo[re] admitted
31 proctors there, until the said number of proctors then being there were decreased, and come down to the number of ten; and then the said number of ten proctors never after to be exceeded. And furthermore, lest my said lord's grace might be advertised afterwards[m], upon better causes and considerations, to dissolve the said statute, as his predecessors did alike other statutes, made in semblable cause long before: the said proctors knowing that his grace would, as [he] always did, apply himself to that thing that should be most profitable for the common weal; and

[1] ["Nothing that more necessarily required speedy reformation." Cott. MSS.]

[m] ["Advertised at any time afterwards." Cott. MSS.]

intending to take away that liberty from him, abusing also his grace's benignity and good zeal to the restraint of his liberties, and fulfilling of their covetous intent; incontinently upon the obtaining of the said statute, procured the same to be confirmed by the chapter and convent of Christ's Church in Canterbury. So that by reason of the same confirmation, my said lord's grace, nor his successors cannot, as the said proctors do pretend, (though they see never so good a cause thereto), infringe nor dissolve the same. And so thereby made in manner an incorporation among them, though they call it not so.

Wherein be it considered, whether they have first offended the king's laws, which do prohibit such incorporations to be made without license had of the king's highness first thereunto. And though all incorporations in any mystery or faculty be not lightly to be admitted, in this case, whereupon depends good[n] or evil ministration of justice, most of all such confederacies are to be eschewed.

Also the said statute is divers ways noiful to the commonweal of this realm, and prejudicial to the king's grace's subjects in the same, and occasion of divers abuses in the said court hereafter to be declared.

But because the said proctors are persuaded, that my said lord of Canterbury cannot himself dissolve the same, and seeing that no man will lightly contend alone with all the said proctors for the dissolving thereof, (for though it touch every man generally, no man singularly will suppose the same to touch him so much, that he should for the impugnation of the same put himself in business against so many and so rich a company, as the said proctors be), it were not only expedient, but also

[n] ["Whereupon dependeth all good." Cott. MSS.]

necessary for the indifferent and speedy ministration of justice in the said court, that his said unreasonable statute[o] were infringed, and dissolved by the authority of this present parliament, (where all other abuses and excesses noiful to the commonweal ought to be reformed), for these causes following.

First, The said statute is prejudicial unto the commonweal, because it is occasion of prolix suits and superfluous delays in the said court, else more necessary to be restrained than augmented. For the said number of ten proctors appointed by the said statute is insufficient for the speedy and diligent attending of men's causes in the said court, though all ten were procuring there at once, as it is not like but that three or four of the same shall be always impotent or absent: for such they account also with the number of ten[p]. And besides that the same ten or fewer, that shall be only procuring, shall serve not only for the said court of the Arches, but also for my said lord of Canterbury's audience, (wherein be as many causes as in the Arches), and for the consistory of the bishop of London. For by the statutes of both the same courts of
32 Audience and consistory, there is no man admitted to procure in the same, unless he be a proctor admitted first in the Arches. So that so few proctors, appointed for so many causes as shall be under travail in all the said courts, can never be able to speed their business without great delays taking.

For heretofore when there were in the said court twenty proctors continually occupying, and more, it hath been seen, that divers of them hath been then so overlaid with causes

[o] ["That the said unreasonable statute." Cott. MSS.]

[p] ["Within the said number of ten." Cott. MSS.]

that they were driven to take oft and many delays and prorogations, "ad idem," for to bring in their matters, libels, and pleas. Then much more must they do the same, now being but ten of them; and most of all, when of the same ten there shall be, (as like it is always to be), three or four absent or impotent, undoubtedly they must needs use infinite delays; which had else rather more need to be restrained, than that any occasion should be yet given of more using the same. For by reason of the same the king's subjects, called to the same court[q], are put to great expenses, tedious labour, and loss of time; and therefore divers, that have good right to many things pleadable in the said courts, had leaver renounce and forego their interest in the same, than enter so desperate a suit in the said courts therefore.

Also men's causes cannot be diligently attended by so few proctors; and men shall be destitute of counsel, whereof should be always plenty in every court. And through the negligence of the proctors, that they must be then of, when they shall have so much business, divers good causes must needs perish for lack of good looking unto, as likely might be: for the forgetting one hour or mistaking of a word doth in the said courts otherwhiles mar the best matter.

And it is impossible that the said ten proctors only shall be able to apply accordingly all the causes that shall be depending in all the said courts, as proctors of duty should; for a proctor's office is laborious and requireth much business. First, a proctor must take sufficient instructions of his clients, and keep every court-day, remember every hour that is appointed him to do any thing at; solicit and instruct his advocates; write and pen every

[q] ["To the said court." Cott. MSS.]

instrument that shall be requisite to be made in the matters[r]. And whosoever of the proctors that shall be negligent or forgetful in doing any of these, his matters, must needs delay. But so few proctors as be appointed by the said statute are not able not only to do so in each matter, but also scant able to remember their clients' names, for so many that they shall then have. Each matter, if it were exactly applied, and men able so to do, would require a proctor alone; but because every man is not able to find a proctor for every one matter, it were best, next the same, that there were so many proctors appointed as might most easily apply their causes as they should. And though that were less profit to the said proctors, whose weal is best when they are most charged with business: yet it should be more profit for the commonweal, whose interest were to have causes speedily and diligently applied in the said courts.

Also, the fewer that there be of the said proctors, the sooner they may agree among themselves to give delays each to other: because that one may have the same leave that he gave the other, as they do in terms to prove; where, to each of the three terms, which they call "ter-
33 minos ad proband.," a month would suffice, though they dwelled[s] never so far from the court within this realm; they take now by cross sufferance of each other[t] of them a quarter of a year commonly for each of the same three terms; which were enough and too much, though the parties dwelled in Paris. Which delays though they be nothing profitable, nor commodious for the poor suitors, be both profitable to the said proctors; by reason that the causes are kept thereby the longer in their hands.

[r] ["In his matters." Cott. MSS.]
[s] ["Tho' the parties dwelled." Cott. MSS.]
[t] ["Of each another." Cott. MSS.]

And also commodious by reason, that they being greatly occupied should have the longer time to do their business in.

And for like consideration the said proctors do omit commonly in every matter a certain oath ungiven, called "juramentum calumpniæ," which is the best provision ordained in all the said law of civil and canon for the restraint of unlawful suits and prolix processes. The effect whereof is this.

Both parties[u] being in suit, or their proctors, shall by the same oath swear, first the plaintiff, that he believeth himself to have a just cause to sue, and the defendant a just cause to defend. Secondarily, that neither of them shall use any unlawful delays, whereby justice may be deferred or letted. Thirdly, that either of them, when they shall be asked by the judge, shall answer truly to every thing that is asked of them, according to their belief. Fourthly, that there is, nor shall be nothing given nor promised to the judge, or any other officers, but only the fees and duty permitted by the law. And fifthly, that neither of them shall use, nor procure any false witness wittingly in the matter.

Which oath, if it were given in every matter as it should be, there should not be so many wrongful causes attempted and kept in the said courts, nor so many delays as in the same[x]. But because that neither of both standeth with the profit of the said proctors, by common assent, and cross sufferance of each another of them, they omit the same most commonly not only ungiven[y], but also not spoken of. And if they say that they do so, because that oft accustoming of oaths maketh men to set

[u] ["Both the parties." Cott. MSS.]
[x] ["Delays used in the same." Cott. MSS.]
[y] ["Commonly ungiven." Cott. MSS.]

less by an oath; truth it is that it doth so. And therefore the said oath ought to be chiefly commended. For the giving of the same but once in any matter should excuse them from giving of many other oaths requisite[z]. And where one should serve for all, better it were, for avoiding of too oft swearing, that the same alone should be given, and all other omitted, than that it alone should be left, that all the other doth supply.

Also, the said statute of ten proctors may be occasion that the same shall wax[a] hault, arrogant, negligent, and loath to take pains, and excessive in taking, by reason that they should be so few. As we see experiently in all other faculties, where[b] fewest occupiers be of the same trust, they be most dangerous[c], and hardest to be gotten to do their faculties, and most excessive in taking for the same: as scarcity or rarity of any thing else maketh the same dear. For when there be few of a faculty, they know then that, be they never so excessive in taking, or negligent in their doing, they shall be occupied well enough: when men can have no other choice but of a few, that be all alike agreed upon the price of every thing; as they may soon do, when they be but a few. Where, if they were many, all should be contrary.

34 Moreover, the said statute of ten proctors may be occasion that justice should not indifferently proceed in the said courts for lack of lawful defence. As if the judges of the said courts, or any of them, be affectionate in any matter depending before them, (as it may be that the judges there shall not be always of such integrity as they be of, that be there now), the said proctors dare not be

[z] ["Many other oaths, that [are] requisite." Cott. MSS.]
[a] ["Should wax." Cott. MSS.]
[b] ["Faculties or mysteries, where." Cott. MSS.]
[c] ["Of the same, there be they most dangerous." Cott. MSS.]

retained on his part[d] that the judge doth not favour; or, if they be retained, they dare not purpose [propose] their client's best interest and remedy, if the same do any thing offend the said judge's affection. By reason that the said proctors be removable from their proctor's offices at the said judge's pleasure, and the same made so beneficial unto them by reason of the said statute.

Then, when the said proctors shall be in such fear of the said judges, to speak in matter of "instance," where the judge doth bear but a light affection to another man; much more will they be so in cases of "office," where the judge is party himself, and hath his own matter in hand. And no marvel if they dare not speak in such. For it hath not been seldom seen and heard there, that it hath been spoken unto such proctors, as hath spoken any thing constantly or freely in their clients' causes, by the judges aforesaid, "Non es amicus curiæ;" and that they were threatened of expulsion from their offices, and put to silence. Yet no law forbiddeth the contrary, but that every man should have his lawful defence, yea, against the judge himself.

But if there were many proctors in the said courts, the judges could not so lightly keep them all in such subjection and fear of them. Nor then the said proctors should not have so great cause to fear them so much, seeing their offices should not be so beneficial unto them then. And less should they yet fear to purpose their clients' right duly, if it were ordained that the same proctors should not be removable from their offices at the said judge's pleasure, (as heretofore they were, and now are); but only for certain great offences proved before indifferent judges to be committed by them after their admission.

[d] ["Retained of his part." Cott. MSS.]

And by reason, that the said proctors be so abandoned unto the said judges, where men had most need of trusty councillors, there they be most destitute of the same, as when the judge is not indifferent. For the partiality of a judge is more to be feared than the manifest malice of an adversary. For the one hurteth privily, and is able to execute his malice: and the other doth apertly all that he goeth about. And a man may provide for the avoiding of the intent[e]. And he is not so able to execute his purpose as the other is. And though partiality of any judge is to be greatly feared, yet most of all in the courts spiritual; where all depends upon the judge's hands, and that one man's commonly. For which partiality the remedy of appeal was first invented. Which remedy, like as it was at the first most wholesomely provided for the avoiding of[f] the iniquity of partial judges; so it is now most wickedly abused for the maintenance of evil-doers in their wrongful causes, and avoiding of due execution of justice, by reason that they be infinite; especially after the canon law. For by civil, there is but appellation permitted; and that not without penalty on him that shall then appeal without cause: and that is more reasonable.

35 For like as it is dangerous to abide one man's judgment, so it is unreasonable that a man should abide[g] the judgments of never so many. And therefore it were very expedient that the same appeals were restrained somewhat. For of them it is chiefly long, that matters be in manner infinite in the said courts. And that may be the better done, by reason that there be two legates within this realm; which were so appointed, because that they

[e] ["Of his intent." Cott. MSS.]
[f] ["For avoiding of." Cott. MSS.]
[g] ["A man shall not abide." Cott. MSS.]

might determine all matters spiritual within this realm without much recourse to Rome, being so far from this country.

To the foresaid inconveniences may come also, through the same statute[h], this abuse following: that is to wit, if there be a mightier or a richer man that do sue a poorer man in the said courts, the richer man may the sooner, by reason that there be so few proctors, retain the most part and the best learned of them. And the other proctors, by reason that they shall be then so wealthy through their great occupying, which they shall have, when they be so few, will rather set more by the same great men's favour than the poor man's fee. And therefore will either refuse to be retained of the poor man's part; or when they be retained, they will be slack in doing their duty, for fear of displeasing the same great men. Where if there were many proctors, their offices would not be excessive gainful, but that they set[i] as much by their fees, as by any man's pleasure lightly.

Also, the said statute is a great discourage[ment] to young [men] to leave their study in the law. For by the same the reward of study is taken away and possessed by a few. And the fewer that be promoted for their learning, the fewer will study to attain the same.

And to this, it may be occasion, that the said proctors be not so well learned nor so diligent, when they are so few, as they would be if they were many. For when there is choice enough of them, they that are best learned, and most diligent shall be always most resorted [to]. And then shall they study every man to excel others in learning and diligence, when they see such chiefly resorted unto. And so no man will labour then to be a

[h] ["Through the said statute." Cott. MSS.]

[i] ["But that they would set." Cott. MSS.]

proctor, unless he be well learned, seeing that learned men should only have all the most resort. And they that be unlearned will away, and provide them livings elsewhere, when they see themselves nothing frequented with causes.

Furthermore, the said statute is plain contrary to their own law of civil and canon. For by the same it is permitted for every man to be proctor for other; but only a few, which are specially and justly excepted by the same, as a woman, a child, a madman, and such other. And by the said statute it is prohibited, that no man shall procure in the said court for other, but only a few, that are specially admitted thereto, and that within a precise and incompetent number. The said law doth except and repel very few; and that of them that are not meet to procure: and the said statute doth yet admit fewer, and that of them that are sufficiently qualified to procure. So that white and black can be no more contrary together, than the said law and statute be each to other[k].

And though any man would rather prefer the said law before the said statute, if he did but only consider how that the law is made so long ago by the concord
36 and discrete opinions of so many great and wise clerks and holy men, and afterward approved by continual usage of divers countries and long succession of time, and experiently known to be wholesomely ordained for the commonweal. And of the other side, how that the said statute is but lately made by the procurement of a few private persons for their singular advantage; approved by no tract of time to be profitable for the common weal; but experiently known to the contrary. Yet beside that, if

[k] ["Be either to other." Cott. MSS.]

all that were set apart, the law is grounded upon better reason than the said statute is. For seeing a proctor represents him that he is proctor for, and may make, or mar his client's matter by one word speaking well or ill; and that the office of a proctor was first invented for men that might or would not intend to their own business themselves; it were more consonant with reason, that a man were suffered to take to his proctor such as he lusteth, and may best trust unto of his matter, than be driven to commit the order of his cause, being misfortune of great weight, to such a one as he never knew, nor saw before. For when a man is at his [choice] to choose him what proctor he lust best, if his matter do delay[l] through the default of his proctor, then he can blame nobody but himself[m]. For that that he would not take better heed to whom he should have committed his matter unto. And when a man is compelled to take one that he knows not, if his matter do then delay, he may put the blame thereof to that statute that constrained him to take such a proctor.

Nevertheless, though the tone of both those ways, that is, the same that is taken by the same law, be much better than the other; yet the mean way betwixt both, (as of all other extremes), were best. That is to say, that neither every man unlearned, nor unexpert, should forthwith be admitted to procure for every man in the said courts, lest of that there should be no good order, but a confuse tumult there: nor yet that there should be so few admitted thereunto, that they were not able nor sufficient for the due exercise of causes there depending. But most reasonable and highly expedient for the common weal it is, that it were enacted by the

[l] ["Do decay." Cott. MSS.]
[m] ["No man but himself." Cott. MSS.]

authority of this present parliament, that there should be as many of such as were sufficiently learned and exercised in the experience and practice of the said courts admitted to procure there, as should be seen convenient to my said lord of Canterbury's grace, or other presidents of the said courts, for the due exercise and expedition of causes there depending; as it was used heretofore[n] till the obtaining of the said statute, without prefixion of any precise number, which for no cause may be exceeded. For how can a precise number of proctors be prefixed, when the number of causes can never be appointed? For causes doth grow and increase as the nature of seasons and men doth require.

And therefore it were expedient that there were mo[re] proctors than should suffice admitted, than fewer. For better it were that some of them should lack causes than causes should want them. And that such ones, so admitted, should not be removable[o] from the same their offices at the said judge's, or any other man's pleasure, as they were heretofore; but only for certain great offences proved to be committed by them after their admission, and judged so to be of indifferent judges, chosen to examine the same by the consent of the proctors, that
37 shall be accused thereof. And because that the proctors aforesaid are all sworn [at the] time of their admission, that they shall never after be against the liberty[p], jurisdiction, and prerogatives of the said courts, but shall maintain and defend the same to their power; and that there may be in the said courts otherwhiles such causes depending, as should appertain to the king's grace's de-

[n] ["Used these heretofore." Cott. MSS.]
[o] ["Might not be removable." Cott. MSS.]
[p] ["Against the liberties." Cott. MSS.]

termination by his royal prerogative, or such other as may be there attempted against the judges or presidents of the said courts; it were highly expedient, as well for the conservation and soliciting of the king's interest there, as for the faithful and bold assistance of proctors there to the king's subjects, that were called thither at the instance of the said judges, or their fautors, or any other person; that like as his grace hath, in other his courts temporal, his solicitors and attorneys, he should also have in his said courts two proctors, or so[q] admitted by his grace and his council, which should be sworn[r] to promote and solicit his grace's interest there, and to advertise the same of anything that should appertain to his grace's prerogative, and to defend such of the king's subjects as shall desire their assistance, boldly and without fear or affection of the said judges. And that the same proctors so admitted be not removable from the same their offices by any man, but the king's grace or his council.

Which, so enacted and established, should be the readiest means that the foresaid abuses, with divers others here not rehearsed, caused through the occasion of the said statute, should be utterly taken away, and justice more plainly and speedily proceed in the said courts than heretofore hath been seen to do. And the king's subjects, called thither from all parts of England, should have plenty of counsel, faithful assistance in their matters, and speedy process in the same. Which ought to be tendered affectantly of every man that regardeth the increase of the common weal and true execution of justice.

[q] ["Two proctors, or more." Cott. MSS.]

[r] ["Which should be only sworn." Cott. MSS.]

[NUMBER XVIII*.

TO KING HENRY VIII.

Cott. MSS. Otho. C. x. fol. 226. British Museum. Original & holograph. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 402. ed. Oxon. 1829. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 154.

"PLEASETH it your most noble grace to be advertised, that at your grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary's[s] letters written in your grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your grace's further pleasure. And forsomuch as without your grace's commandment I dare not, contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your grace's presence; nevertheless, of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your grace, by your great wisdom and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your grace's heart, and to take all adversities of God's hand both patiently and thankfully.

I cannot deny but your grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness; and also, that in the wrongful estimation of the world your grace's honour of every part is so highly touched, (whether the things that commonly be spoken of be true or not), that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your grace any like occasion to try your grace's constancy throughout, whether your highness can be content to take of God's hand as well things displeasant as pleasant. And if he find in your noble heart such an obedience unto his will, that your grace, without murmuration and overmuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him than when all things succeeded after your grace's will and pleasure, nor less procuring his glory and honour; then I suppose your grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first governance of this your realm. And moreover, your grace shall give unto him occasion to multiply and increase his graces and benefits unto your

[s] [i. e. Crumwel.]

highness, as he did unto his most faithful servant Job; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart and willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod, "addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia."

And if it be true that is openly reported of the queen's grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed; for I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her; which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth, that next unto your grace I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me in that, which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with your grace's favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your grace of your only mere goodness took her and set the crown upon her head; I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished to the example of all other. And as I loved her not a little for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so, if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the gospel, the more they will hate her; for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that

she feignedly hath professed his gospel in her mouth, and not in her heart and deed.

And though she have offended so that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your grace's favour; yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your grace, and never offended you. But your grace, I am sure, knowledgeth that you have offended him. Wherefore I trust that your grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the gospel than you did before: for so much as your grace's favour to the gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose gospel he hath ordained your grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your grace from all evil, and give you at the end the promise of his gospel. From Lambeth, the third day of May, [A.D. 1536.]

After I had written this letter unto your grace, my lord chancellor[t], my lord of Oxford, my lord of Sussex, and my lord chamberlain of your grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star-chamber; and there declared unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was they should make me privy unto. For the which I am most bounden unto your grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your grace. I am exceeding sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen, as I heard of their relation. But I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject.

Your grace's most humble subject and chaplain,

T. CANTUARIENSIS.

Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. letter clxxiv. pp. 323, 4. Park. Soc. ed.]

[t] [i. e. Sir Thomas Audley.]

NUMBER XIX.

THE ARCHBISHOP TO THE LORD CRUMWEL, GIVING HIM SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISITATION OF HIS DIOCESE.

[Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. 5. p. 292. [British Museum. Original.]

"THESE shall be [further] to advertise your lordship, that since my last coming from London into Kent, I have found the people of my diocese very obstinately given to observe and keep with solemnity the holy days lately abrogated[s]. Whereupon I have punished divers of the offenders; and to divers I have given gentle monition to amend. But inasmuch as by examination I have perceived, that the people were partly animated thereunto by their curates, I have given straight commandment and injunction unto all the parsons and vicars within my diocese, upon pain of deprivation of their benefices, that they shall not only, on their behalf, cause the said holy days so abrogated from time to time not to be observed within their cures; but also shall from henceforth present to me such persons of their parishes as will practise in word or deed, contrary to that ordinance or any other; which is or hereafter shall be set forth by the king's grace's au- 38
thority, for the redress or ordering of the doctrine or ceremonies of this church[t] of England. So that now I suppose, through this means, all disobedience and contempt of the king's grace's Acts[u] and Ordinances in this behalf shall be clearly avoided in my diocese hereafter: not doubting also, but if every bishop in this realm had

[s] [These holidays were abrogated by an act of convocation. See Letter of Henry VIII. to the bishops; Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 823. See also "Mandatum Archiepisc. Cantuar. de non celebrand. festis diebus;"—above p. 122. n. [x], and abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 470. Park. Soc. ed.]

[t] ["Ceremony of this church." Cott. MSS.]

[u] ["King's grace's said acts." Cott. MSS.]

commandment to do the same in their dioceses, it would avoid both much disobedience and contention in this said realm. I would fain that all the enmity and grudge of the people in this matter should be put from the king and his counsel; and that we, who be ordinaries[v], should take it upon us. Or else I fear lest a grudge against the prince and his counsel, in such causes of religion, should gender in many of the people's hearts a faint subjection and obedience.

This was writ with the archbishop's own hand. All the rest of the letter was his secretary's.

But, my lord, if in the court you do keep such holy days and fasting days as be abrogated, when shall we persuade the people to cease from keeping of them? For the king's own house shall be an example unto all the realm to break his own ordinances.

Over this, whereas your lordship hath twice written for this poor man, William Gronnowe, the bearer hereof to my lord deputy of Calais[w], for him to be restored to his room; as far as I understand, it prevailed nothing at all; for so he can get none answer of my lord deputy: so that the poor man despaireth that your request shall do him any good. If your lordship would be so good to him as to obtain a bill, signed by the king's grace, to the treasurers and comptrollers of Calais for the time being, commanding them to pay to the said W. Gronnowe his accustomed wages yearly, and to none other, your lordship should not only not further trouble my lord deputy any more, but also do a right meritorious deed. For if the poor man be put thus from his living, he were but utterly undone. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the xxviii day of August, [A. D. 1537.]

Your lordship's own ever

T. CANTUARIENSIS.

[v] ["Which be ordinaries." Cott. MSS.] [w] [i. e. the lord Lisle.]

NUMBER XX.

RICHARD GRAFTON THE PRINTER OF THE BIBLE TO THE LORD CRUMWEL, COMPLAINING OF SOME THAT INTENDED TO PRINT THE BIBLE, AND THEREBY TO SPOIL HIS IMPRESSION.

✠ 1537.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 5. [fol. 325. British Museum. Original.]

Most humbly beseeching your lordship to understand, that according as your commission was, by my servant to send you certain Bibles, so have I now done, desiring your lordship to accept them, as though they were well done. And whereas I writ unto your lordship for a privy seal to be a defence unto the enemies of this Bible, I understand that your lordship's mind is that I shall not need it. But now, most gracious lord, forasmuch as this work hath been brought forth to our most great and costly labours and charges; which charges amount above the sum of five hundred pounds; and I have caused of these same to be printed to the sum of fifteen hundred books complete: which now by reason that of many this work is highly commended; there are that will and doth go about the printing of the same work again in a lesser letter: to the intent that they may sell their little books better cheap than I can sell these great; and so to make that I shall sell none at all, or else very few, to the utter undoing of me, your orator, and of all those my creditors, that hath been my comforters and helpers therein. And now this work, thus set forth with great study and labours, shall such persons, (moved with a little covetousness to the undoing of others for their own private wealth), take as a thing done to their hands. In which half the charges shall not come to them that hath done to your poor orator. And 39

yet shall not they do it as they find it, but falsify the text; that I dare say, look how many sentences are in the Bible, even so many faults[x] and errors shall be made therein. For their seeking is not to set it out to God's glory, and to the edifying of Christ's congregation, (but for covetousness). And that may appear by the former Bibles that they have set forth; which hath neither good paper, letters, ink, nor correction. And even so shall they corrupt this work, and wrap it up after their fashions, and then may they sell it for nought at their pleasures. Yea, and to make it more true than it is, therefore Dutchmen, living within this realm[y], go about the printing of it; which can neither speak good English, nor yet write none. And they will be both the printers and correctors thereof: because of a little covetousness, they will not[z] bestow twenty or forty pounds to a learned man to take pains in it, to have it well done.

It were therefore, (as your lordship doth evidently perceive), a thing unreasonable to permit or suffer them (which now hath no such business), to enter into the labours of them that hath made both sore trouble and unreasonable charges. And the truth is this, that if it be printed by any other before these be sold, (which I think shall not be these three years at the least), that then am I, your poor orator, undone.

Therefore by your most godly favour, if I may obtain the king's most gracious privilege, that none shall print them till these be sold, which at the least shall not be this three years, your lordship shall not find me unthankful, but that to the uttermost of my power I will consider it. And I dare say that so will my lord of Canterbury, with

[x] ["Even many faults." Cott. MSS.]

[y] ["Dwelling within this realm." Cott. MSS.]

[z] ["Covetousness, that will not." Cott. MSS.]

other my most special friends. And at the last[a] God will look upon your merciful heart, that considereth the undoing of a poor young man. For truly my whole living lieth hereupon. Which if I may have sale of them, not being hindered by any other men, it shall be my making and wealth, and the contrary is my undoing. Therefore most humbly I beseech your lordship to be my helper here[b], that I may obtain this my request. Or else, if by no means this privilege may be had, (as I have no doubt through your help it shall); and seeing men are so desirous to be printing of it again, to my utter undoing as aforesaid: that yet forasmuch as it hath pleased the 40
king's highness to license this work to go abroad; and that it is the most pure religion, that teacheth[c] all true obedience, and reproveth all schisms and contentions; and the lack of this word of the Almighty God is the cause of all blindness and superstition: it may therefore be commanded by your lordship, in the name of our most gracious prince, that every curate have one of them, that they may learn to know God, and to instruct their parishioners. Yea, and that every abbey should have six, to be laid in six several places; and that the whole convent, and the resorters thereunto, may have occasion to look on the Lord's law. Yea, I would [have] none other but they of the papistical sort should be compelled to have them. And then I know there should be enough found in my lord of London's[d] diocese to spend away a great part of them. And so should this be a godly act, worthy to be had in remembrance while the world doth stand.

[a] ["And at the least." Cott. MSS.]

[b] ["My helper herein."]

[c] ["The most pure word of God, which teacheth." Cott. MSS.]

[d] [John Stokesley.]

And I know that a small commission will cause my lords of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Worcester[e] to cause it to be done through their dioceses. Yea, and this should cease the whole schism and contention that is in the realm; which is, some calling them of the old, and some of the new. Now should we all follow one God, one Book, and one learning. And this is hurtful to no man, but profitable to all men.

I will trouble your lordship no longer, for I am sorry I have troubled you so much. But to make an end I desire your most gracious answer by my servant. For the sickness is brim about us, or would I wait upon your lordship. And because of coming to your lordship I have not suffered my servant with me since he came over. Thus for your continual preservation, I, with all that truly love God, do most heartily pray that you may overcome all your adversaries of the papistical sort.

Your orator,

RICHARD GRAFTON.

NUMBER XXI.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO THE KING FOR A SUFFRAGAN OF DOVER[f].

Abp. Cranmer, Regist.

EXCELLENTISSIMO et potentissimo in Christo principi et domino nostro domino Henrico Octavo Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, et domino Hiberniæ, ac in terris supremo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ capiti, vester humilis orator et subditus Thomas, permissione divina Cantuar. archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, omnimod. reverentiam et observantiam tanto

[e] [Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Shaxton, and Hugh Latimer.]

[f] [See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 828.]

principi debitas et condignas cum omni subjectionis honore. Ad sedem episcopalem de Doveria infra Cantuar. diœc. existen. dilectos mihi in Christo Richardum Yngworth, priorem domus sive prioratus de Langley regis, et Johannem Codenham, sacræ theologiæ professores, juxta et secundum vim, formam et effectum statuti parliamenti hujus inclyti regni vestri Angliæ in hoc casu editi et provisi, vestræ regiæ majestati per has literas meas nomino et præsento; ac eidem majestati vestræ humiliter supplico, quatenus alteri eorum, (cui vestra regia majestas id munus conferend. præoptaverit), titulum, nomen, stylumque, et dignitatem episcopalem ac suffra- 41
ganeam ad sedem prædictam misericorditer conferre, ipsumque mihi præfato archiepiscopo, infra cujus diœc. et provinciam sedes antedicta consistit, per literas vestras patentes regias intuitu charitatis punctare, mihique mandare dignetur vestra regia majestas; quatenus ipsum, sic nominatum et præsentatum, in episcopum suffraganeum sedis prædict. juxta formam statuti prædict. effectualiter consecrem, et benedicam, cæteraque faciam et exequar in ea parte, quæ ad effectum meum archiepiscopale spectaverint, seu requisita fuerint in præmissis. Vivat denique et valeat in multos annos vestra regia celsitudo prælibata in eo, per quem reges regnant, et principes dominantur. Dat. apud Lambeth primo die mensis Decembr., anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo septimo, et regni vestri florentiss. vicesimo nono.

NUMBER XXII.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S LETTERS OF COMMISSION TO RICHARD SUFFRAGAN OF DOVER[f].

Abp. Cranmer, Regist.

THOMAS permissione divina Cantuar. archiepiscopus totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, venerabili confratri nostro domino Ricardo, Dei gratia sedis Doveriæ nostræ diœcesios Cantuar. suffraganeo, salutem, et fraternam in domino charitatem. De tuis fidelitate et circumspectionis industria plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinentes, ad confirmandum sacri chrismatis unctione pueros quoscunque infra civitatem et diœcesin nostras Cantuar., et jurisdictiones nostras, et ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cantuar. immediatas, ac jurisdictionem nostram villæ Calisiæ, et marchias ejusdem sub obedientia excellentissimi principis, et domini nostri, domini Henrici octavi, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regis, fidei defensoris, et domini Hiberniæ, ac in terris sub Christo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ capitis supremi ubilibet constitut. Necnon altaria, calices, vestimenta, et alia ecclesiæ ornamenta quæcunque, et ea concernen. benedicend. locaque profana, si quæ inveneris, de quibus te inquirere volumus, a divinorum celebratione ultime suspendend. Ecclesias etiam et cœmiteria sanguinis vel seminis effusione polluta forsan vel polluend. reconciliand. ecclesias et altaria noviter ædificat. consecrand. Omnes ordines minores cujuscunque civitatis, diœceseos, et jurisdictionem nostrarum prædictarum, ipsos ordines a te recipere volentibus, et ad hoc habilibus ad jurejurandum de renuntiando Rom. episcopo, et ejus auctoritati, ac de acceptando regiam majestatem pro supremo capite ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, juxta statuta hujus regni in hac parte edita, ab eisdem ordinand. et eorum quolibet per te primitus

[f] [See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 828.]

recepto, conferend. Ac etiam oleum sanctum chrismatis et sacræ unctionis consecrand. cæteraque omnia et singula, quæ ad officium pontificale in præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum quovis modo pertinent, vel pertinere poterunt, faciend. exercend. et expediend. tibi tenore præsentium committimus vices nostras, et plenam in Domino potestatem; teque quoad præmissa suffraganeum nostrum ordinamus et præficimus per præsentes, donec eas ad nos duxerimus revocand. Et ut officium tuum hujusmodi possis in præmissis liberius exercere, universis et singulis 42
decanis, rectoribus, vicariis, capellanis, curatis, et non curatis, clericis et apparitoribus quibuscunque in virtute sacræ [suæ] obedientiæ firmiter tenore præsentium injungendo mandamus, quatenus tibi in præmissis et quolibet præmissorum sint obedientes, assistentes, et intendentes in omnibus, prout decet. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Dat. in manerio nostro de Lamehith, decimo die Decembr. Anno Domini mill. quin. xxxvii., et nostræ consecrationis anno quinto.

NUMBER XXIII.

A DECLARATION TO BE READ BY ALL CURATES UPON THE PUBLISHING OF THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 5. p. 327. [British Museum. Original.]

WHEREAS it hath pleased the king's majesty, our most dread sovereign, and supreme head under God of this church of England, for a declaration of the great zeal he beareth to the setting forth of God's word, and to the virtuous maintenance of the commonwealth, to permit and command the Bible, being translated into our mother tongue, to be sincerely taught[g] by us the curates, and to be openly

[g] ["Taught and declared by us." Cott. MSS.]

laid forth in every parish church: to the intent that all his good subjects, as well by reading thereof, as by hearing the true explanation of the same, may be able to learn[h] their duties to Almighty God and his majesty, and every of us charitably to use other: and then applying themselves to do according to that they shall hear and learn, may both speak and do Christianly; and in all things, as it beseemeth Christian men: because his highness very much desireth, that this thing being by him most godly begun and set forward, may of all you be received as is aforesaid; his majesty hath willed and commanded this to be declared unto you, that his grace's pleasure and high commandment is, that in the reading and hearing thereof, first most humbly and reverently using and addressing yourselves unto it, you shall have always in your remembrance and memories, that all things contained in this Book is the undoubted will, law, and commandment of Almighty God, the only and straight means to know the goodness and benefits of God towards us, and the true duty of every Christian man to serve him accordingly. And that therefore reading this Book with such mind and firm faith as is aforesaid, you shall first endeavour yourselves to conform your own livings and conversation to the contents of the same. And so by your good and virtuous example to encourage your wives, children, and servants to live well and Christianly according to the rules thereof.

And if at any time by reading any doubt shall come to any of you touching the sense and meaning of any part thereof, that then, not giving too much to your own minds, fantasies, and opinions; nor having thereof any open reasoning in your open taverns or alehouses, ye shall have recourse to

[h] ["May first learn." Cott. MSS.]

such learned men as be or shall be authorized to preach and declare the same. So that, avoiding all contentions and disputation in such alehouses and other places, un- 43
meet for such conferences, and submitting your opinion to the judgments of such learned men as shall be appointed in this behalf, his grace may well perceive that you use this most high benefit quietly and charitably every one of you, to the edifying of himself, his wife and family, in all things answering to his highness' good opinion conceived of you, in the advancement of virtue and suppressing of vice; without failing to use such discreet quietness and sober moderation in the premises as is aforesaid; as you tender his grace's pleasure, and intend to avoid his high indignation, and the peril and danger that may ensue to you and every of you for the contrary.

And God save the king.

NUMBER XXIV.

THE ANSWER OR DECLARATION OF RICHARD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER[i], IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING'S MAJESTY, AGAINST THE SIXTH REASON OR ARGUMENT OF JOHN LAMBERT, CONCERNING THE MOST HOLY AND BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR.

THESE are the words of his sixth article: "Paul doth take it for a sore inconvenience, 'deducere Christum ex alto,' Rom. x. And yet must the priests do so, bringing his natural body into the sacrament. Or else they cannot bring the same body into the sacrament; which I believe rather." [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. 5. p. 371. British Museum. Original.]

[i] [Richard Sampson.]

The Answer of the Bishop.

By this reason you may evidently perceive the vanity, and also the malice of this man. So that you may judge by what spirit he is led, to make such an argument against so high and precious a mystery as this is.

What Christian man is so ignorant that knoweth not this to be evidently true, that this most holy sacrament hath not his virtue of the priest, which is a mortal man, and many times a sinner. For he is but a minister, and a very instrument, by whom God worketh. St. Chrysostom saith, "that the minister is as it were the pen, God is the hand. The grace, the virtue is of God." In the 27th hom. in the second tome[j]. So doth teach the apostle to the Corinthians, in the third chapter of the first Epistle. "What is [an] Apostle?" saith he, "What is Paul? ministers of him in whom ye believe; and as he hath given to every one. I have planted," says St. Paul, "Apollo hath watered: but God hath given the increase. Wherefore neither he that planteth nor he that watereth is ought, but he that giveth the increase. For men must esteem us as ministers of Christ," saith he in the next chapter. By these words he proveth that the minister gives no effect or virtue, but only God.

44 St. Augustin ad Cresconium grammaticum saith also expressly, that "if there be among good ministers one better than another, the sacrament is no better given by the better; and it is no worse given by an evil man[k]." There is for this purpose a goodly saying of Eusebius Emissenus, which was much persecuted by the Arians. These are his words: "Invisibilis sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui, verbo suo

[j] [See Chrysost. Homil. de prodit. Judæ. tom. ii. p. 453. ed. Paris. 1835.]

[k] [See August. cont. Crescon. lib. iv. c. 20. tom. vii. p. 203. ed. Paris. 1635.]

secreta potestate convertit[l]." No Christian man doubteth who is this invisible Priest; which is our Saviour, the High Priest, the perpetual Priest, as the apostle saith ad Heb. vii. Which to our carnal eyes is invisible, and otherwise may not be seen, but by the eyes of our soul, and faith only. "This invisible Priest," saith Eusebius, "converteth and turneth the visible creatures of bread and wine not only into his body and blood, but into the substance of his body and blood."

It is not then the priest that worketh this work, nor bringeth Christ out of heaven, as this man mockingly and scorntully writeth in this article, but it is Christ himself. For, as St. Austin saith, "Idem est Mediator qui offert, et qui offertur[m]."

And what spirit this man hath towards this most holy sacrament, you may well conjecture, and evidently perceive his malignity, which not only gathereth a certain number of vain arguments together, to the number of eight; that it might appear to the simple ignorant people as though it were a great foundation which he hath for his detestable purpose: and yet, (as I say), they are all vain, and grounded only upon gross natural reason, which can in no wise attain to this high mystery: but also in so grave, weighty, and most reverend cause, as this is, he dallieth, [trifleth,] mocketh, and scorneth in this fond reason, without any reason; saying, "that the priest must bring the body of Christ out of heaven." But it is little to be weighed in this man, though that he scorneth the ministration of the priest, saith that he so depraveth his very Lord and Master.

[l] [See Corpus Juris Canonici. Decreti pars 3. De consecrat. Dist. ii. c. 35. "Quia Corpus." Tom. i. col. 1157. ed. Lips. 1839.]

[m] [August. de Trinitat. Lib. iv. cap. 14. Tom. iii. p. 115. ed. Paris. 1635.]

And in case that he should say, that he doth not scorn the ministration of the priest, then must he needs be very ignorant, to suppose in any wise that the priest worketh any thing in this, or any other sacrament, more than as I have before said.

In this argument also he allegeth one part of Scripture in the tenth chapter of the Romans, to blind also the simple people that they should think all that he speaketh is the very Scripture. And surely this place of Scripture maketh evidently against him, and such as he is. For it is written against infidels, such as will not believe the word of God written, but would yet have knowledge from heaven. And so the apostle there maketh example of him that will not believe that Christ is ascended, but notwithstanding the testimony of Scripture, he demandeth, "Quis ascendet in cœlum? Hoc est, Christum de cœlo deducere," saith the apostle. Wherefore the apostle monisheth every Christian man in this manner, "Ne dixeris in corde tuo, Quis ascendet," &c. That is to say, Think not in thy mind, have no such doubt to ask, Who ascended, or how: but believe the Scripture. For as Moses, in the thirtieth chapter of Deuteronomy, saith, "Thou shalt not need to seek into heaven for the knowledge of these things: it is not set nor left in heaven; it is not above thee; it is not far from thee; but the word of God is nigh thee, even in thy mouth," as it were, and ready at hand: believe that, and do according to that. For so it was answered to the rich man in the sixteenth chapter of Luke, "Thy brethren have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." And, "If they will not hear nor believe them, they will not believe any one that shall come from hence."

Wherefore Chrysostom, in the former tenth chapter of Paul, teacheth even Christian men in these things of the

faith, in no wise to ask or search how it may be; but leaving this infirmity and weakness of our thoughts or reasons, let us receive with a certain undoubted faith the promises of God by his words[g].

St. Cyprian also, in a work, "De cœna Domini," hath these words, "The fleshly man is not to be admitted to this feast of the table of God. Whatsoever the flesh and the blood," that is to say, the natural reason of the mortal man, "esteemeth or judgeth, needs must be excluded from this mystery. For it savoureth nothing to this matter or in any wise helpeth, whatsoever the subtilty of man's wit attempteth to search. Such are wise men of this world, that whatsoever is above their wit, they think it otherwise than the truth. But the truth," saith he, "cannot be comprised by man's wit, which is erroneous and many times deceived. Wherefore they that are faithful and poor in spirit, and not arrogant of their own wits, by their faith, do see perfectly this sacrament[h]."

We have the express words of Christ, "Hoc est corpus

[g] ['Ορᾷς ὅτι τοῦτο μαλίστα πίστεως ἴδιον, καὶ τὴν κάτω πᾶσαν ἀκολουθίαν ἀφέντας τὸ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐπιζητεῖν, καὶ λογισμῶν ἀσθένειαν ἐκβάλλοντας, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θέου δυνάμεως καὶ ἅπαντα παραδέχεσθαι. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. x. Hom. xvii. tom. ix. p. 623. ed. Paris. 1718–38.]

[h] ["Inter Dominicæ mensæ convivas animalis homo non admittitur; quidquid caro et sanguis dictat, ab hoc cœtu excluditur: nihil sapit, nihil prodest quidquid humani sensus molitur subtilitas: omne quidquid a suis rationibus devium videtur, sapientes hujus sæculi ad dementiam referunt, et a veritate reputant alienum. Sed veritas ab erroneis hominibus comprehendi non potuit: et cum in sole vellet figere oculos, vim luminis non ferens, cœcata est non illuminata humana præsumptio, et aspectui ejus lippitudo inhæsit. Vident hæc sacramenta pauperes spiritu, et hoc uno contenti ferculo, omnes mundi hujus delicias aspernantur: et possidentes Christum, aliquam hujus mundi possidere supellectilem dedignantur." Cyprian. de cœn. Dom. p. 466. ed. Paris. 1607.]

meum, This is my body." The words are plain not only in Matthew, but the same plain words are in Luke and Mark, without any figurative speaking. Wherefore we may not add, diminish, change, or alter these words that are so manifest and plain; but certainly believe these words to be true in the same sense that they are clearly spoken, howsoever they are impossible to man's wit. For as it is impossible for God to make a lie, as the apostle saith in the sixth ad Heb., so every thing is possible to him, howsoever it is thought impossible to men.

We must, therefore, leave all our carnal reasons, and only receive, without any doubt, the teaching, the words, the promises of God, howsoever they seem impossible to our natural and frail reason. Or else we should not believe the power of God to be so high and absolute as it is: to whom is nothing impossible.

NUMBER XXV.

THO. CRANMERI ARCHIEP. CANT. EPIST. SUPER CONTROVERSIA DE CŒNA DOMINI ORTAM.

Illustri et erudito viro Joachimo Vadiano, consuli apud sanctum Gallum in Helvetia.

[Archiv. Eccles. Tigurin. Original.] Dudithius, Oration. et Opuscul. [Colomesius, Epist. Claror. Virorum, No. 36.]

TANDEM a negotiis consiliisque publicis missionem vel verius respirationem nactus, et inter cæteros doctos viros, quorum epistolis responsa jam diu debueram, tibi quoque, Vadiane, vir illustris doctissimeque, nunc demum vertente anno respondere incipiens, (utpote cujus literas superiore hyeme acceperim, una cum munere literario; quod genus quidem solco vel inter pretiosissima numerare), illud imprimis mecum reputare pudibundus occœpi vererique, ne forte suspicionem aut etiam opinionem mihi aliquam sinistram apud animum tuum, silentio meo tam diuturno,

contraxerim; quia sciam apud vulgus hominum fieri plerumque solere, cum hospes hospitem salutat, ut in primo maxime aditu responsum solicite exspectent. Quod si differatur, superbiam aliquam vel neglectum sui, vel, ut minimum, oblivionem intervenire suspicantur, qualemque in primo illo accessu invenere, talem in universam reliquam vitam erga se fore præjudicant. Cum qui cito respondet, libenter et gratanter id facere judicatur, eumque proinde humanum, facilem, gratumque interpretantur. Contra, qui tarde, fastuosus, difficilis, et incivilibus ac inamœnis moribus præditus existimatur. Usque adeo bis facit quod cito facit, quicquid quis cito facit. Verum ego de tua neutiquam vulgari prudentia et humanitate meliora mihi polliceor, confidoque te hanc meam non spontaneam tarditatem aut cessationem, sed necessariam dilationem benigne accepturum, eamque non tam moribus quam negotiis meis imputaturum. Quæ qualia et quanta fuerint, puto rumores ad vos usque jampridem pertulisse, et ego de eisdem nonnihil ad Grynæum meum, imo nostrum, scripsi; cum quo pro amicitiæ jure omnia tibi communia futura esse non ambigo. Ad illum igitur te remitto, siquid hac re offenderis, qui me tibi reddat excusatiorem.

Tuam erga me voluntatem et promptitudinem animi ad contrahendam mecum sanctiorem necessitudinem in literis tuis perspicio, et libens amplector osculorque. Virum enim dignum te judico, quem ego propter eximiam eruditionem, qua me quoque adjutum profecisse neutiquam dissimulavero, et propter morum probitatem, multorum gravissimorum virorum testimoniis comprobatam, omni amore, favore, ac veneratione prosequar. Veruntamen ut animi mei sensum (sicuti inter bonos viros fieri oportet) ingenue tibi profitear, argumentum quod tractas in sex illis libris*, quos mihi dono dederas, in totum mihi displicet; vellemque vigilias tuas tantas felicius collocasses, et mecum

* Aphorismorum, de consideratione Eucharistiæ.

jucundæ amicitiæ melioribus, aut certe minus improbatis, auspiciis fuisses usus. Nam ego nisi certiora afferri video, quam hactenus videre potui, sententiæ illius vestræ nec patronus nec astipulator esse volo. Et plane mihi vel ex eo maxime persuasum est, causam esse non bonam, quod eam viri tam ingeniosi, tam diserti, tamque omnibus artibus et disciplinis instructi, non videamini satis valide tueri ac sustinere. Vidi pleraque omnia, quæ vel ab Œcolampadio vel a Zuinglio scripta sunt et edita, didicique omnium hominum omnia cum delectu esse legenda. Et fortasse illud D. Hieronymi de Origene elogium in illos quoque non absurde aliquis detorserit, "Ubi bene, nemo melius," &c. Nosti enim quod sequitur. Quatenus quidem papisticos et sophisticos errores et abusus indicare, convincere corrigereque sunt conati, laudo et approbo. Atque utinam intra fines illos constitissent, neque fruges una cum zizaniis conculcassent, hoc est, veterum doctorum primorumque in ecclesia Christi scriptorum auctoritatem una violassent. Nam ut ingenia vestra quantumcunque versaveritis, mihi tamen certe nunquam approbaveritis, ne cuiquam, opinor, æquo lectori, veteres illos auctores in hac controversia pro vestra facere sententia. Fuistis nimirum in investigandis erroribus plus satis curiosi, et dum omnia purgare studetis, illic quoque errorem subesse putavistis, ubi nullus fuit. Quando hic certe, si error est, jam inde a primordio ecclesiæ, ab ipsis patribus et viris apostolicis, nobis fuit propinatus. Quod quis pius sustinuerit vel audire, nedum credere? ut nequid interim dicam, quod bonus Dominus noster unice dilectam sponsam suam nunquam in tam pudenda cæcitate tamdiu dereliquisset. Quamobrem quum hæc, quam tenemus, catholica fides de vera præsentia corporis tam apertis ac manifestis scripturis fuerit ecclesiæ ab initio promulgata, et eadem postea, per primos ecclesiasticos scriptores, fidelium auribus tam clare

tamque studiose commendata; ne quæso, ne mihi pergatis eam tam bene radicatam et suffultam velle amplius convellere aut subruere. Satis jam, satis tentatum est hactenus. Et nisi super firmam petram fuisset firmiter ædificata, jam dudum cum magnæ ruinæ fragore cecidisset. Dici non potest, quantum hæc tam cruenta controversia, cum per universum orbem Christianum, tum maxime apud nos, bene currenti verbo evangelii obstiterit. Vobis ipsis affert ingens periculum, et cæteris omnibus præbet non dicendum offendiculum. Quocirca, si me audietis hortor et suadeo, imo vos oro, obsecro, et visceribus Jesu Christi obtestor et adjuro, uti concordiam procedere et coire sinatis, in illam confirmandam totis viribus incumbatis, pacemque Dei tandem, quæ superat omnem sensum, ecclesiis permittatis, ut evangelicam doctrinam unam, sanam, puram, et cum primitivæ ecclesiæ disciplina consonam, junctis viribus quam maxime propagemus. Facile vel Turcas ad evangelii nostri obedientiam converterimus, modo intra nosmetipsos consentiamus, et pia quadam conjuratione conspiremus. At si ad hunc modum pergimus ad invicem contendere et commordere, timendum erit, ne (quod dicens abominor) juxta comminationem apostolicam, ad invicem consumamur.

Habes, optime Vadiane, meam de tota controversia illa neutiquam fictam sententiam, una cum admonitione libera ac fideli. Cui si obtemperaveris, non modo inter amicos, sed etiam vel inter amicissimos mihi nomen tuum ascripsero. Bene vale. [1537.]

T. Cantuariens.

NUMBER VIII.

THE KING'S PROCLAMATION FOR BRINGING IN SEDITIOUS BOOKS[i].

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 5.[j]

It set forth that sundry contentions and sinister opinions had by wrong teaching and naughty printed books increased among his subjects, contrary to the true faith and reverence and due observation of the sacraments and sacramentals, rites and ceremonies heretofore used. And as the books are blamed, so the additions and annotations in the margins, the prologues and calendars to them, made by sundry strange persons called anabaptists and sacramentaries, lately come into the realm, and by some other his majesty's subjects. Whereby many of the king's loving but simple subjects were induced arrogantly and superstitiously to dispute in open places and taverns upon baptism, and upon the holy sacrament of the altar, not
11 only to their own slander, but to the reproach of the whole realm, and his grace's high discontentation and displeasure, with the danger of the increase of the said enormities. Therefore the king did straitly charge and command by his present proclamation, as well all his subjects, as all others, whatsoever resident within his realm, that from henceforth they observe and keep these Articles following.

First, That no person shall, without his majesty's special

[i] [This proclamation of Henry VIII. is inserted in this edition in its proper place, after No. 25. (see above, pp. 155, 337.) it having been misplaced by the author in his original edition.]

[j] [The proclamation, of which the above is an abstract, was issued,—June 7,—22°. Hen. VIII. (i. e. A. D. 1530.) and is preserved in the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 321.—British Museum, Copy. It is also printed in Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. pp. 740–742.]

leave, transport and bring from foreign parts any books printed in the English tongue, nor sell, give and publish such books, upon pain that the offenders forfeit all their goods and chattels, and have imprisonment during his majesty's pleasure.

Item, None to print any book in the English tongue, unless upon examination made by some of the privy council, or other appointed by his highness, and shall have license so to do. Nor shall print or bring in any books of the holy scripture in the English tongue with any annotations in the margin, or any prologue, or addition in the calendar or table, except such annotations, &c., be first duly examined and allowed by the king's highness, or such of his council as shall please his majesty to assign thereto: but only the plain sentence and text with a table or repertory, instructing the reader to find readily the chapters contained in the said book, and the effects thereof. Nor to print any book of translations in the English tongue, unless the plain name of the translator thereof be contained in the same book, or else that the printer will answer for the same as for his own privy deed: and otherwise to make the translator the printer to suffer imprisonment, and make a fine at the king's will.

Item, None using the occupation of printing shall print or cause to be published any book of scripture in the English tongue, unless his books be first viewed and examined by the king, or one of his privy council, or one bishop of the realm, upon pain to lose and forfeit all their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure.

Item, The king declared concerning anabaptists and other sacramentaries lately come into the realm, that he abhorred and detested their errors, and intended to proceed against them that were already apprehended, according to their merits; to the intent his subjects should take

example by their punishments not to adhere to such false and detestable opinions, but utterly to forsake and relinquish them. And that wheresoever any of them be known, they be detected, and his majesty or council be informed with all convenient speed, with all manner abettors and printers of the same opinion. And his majesty charged the same anabaptists and sacramentaries not apprehended or known, that they within eight or ten days depart out of the realm, upon pain of loss of their life and forfeiture of their goods.

Item, Forasmuch as the holy sacrament of the altar is the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so hath and ought to be taken upon peril of damnation, his majesty minded to continue his subjects in this true and just faith, and that they be not beguiled away from it, charged that none should henceforth reason or dispute upon the said blessed sacrament, as of the mysteries thereof, upon pain of life and forfeiture of goods.
12 Except to learned men in holy scripture instructed, and taught in the universities, their liberties and privileges in their schools and places accustomed concerning the same; and otherwise in communication without slander of any man, for the only confirmation and declaration of the truth thereof.

Item, And forasmuch as many brooked divers and many laudable ceremonies and rites heretofore used and accustomed in the church of England, not yet abrogated by the king's authority; whereby arose different strifes and contentions; as for and concerning holy bread, holy water, processions, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter day, setting up lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on the day of purification, ceremonies used at the purification of women delivered of child, and offering of their chrisms, keeping of the four offering days, payment of tithes according to

the old custom of the realm, and other such like ceremonies; his majesty charged and commanded all his subjects to observe and keep them; so as they shall use and observe the same without superstition, and esteem them for good and lawful ceremonies, tokens and signs to put us in remembrance of things of high perfection, and none otherwise. And not to repose any trust of salvation in them: but take them for good instructions, until such time as his majesty change or abrogate any of them, as his highness upon reasonable consideration both may and intendeth to do.

Finally, Whereas a few priests, as well religious as others, have taken wives and married themselves, contrary to the wholesome monitions of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, and to the Corinthians, and contrary to the opinion of many of the old Fathers and expositors of Scripture, not esteeming also the promise of chastity, which they made at the receiving of holy orders; his highness, minding in no wise that the generality of the clergy should, with the example of such a few light persons, proceed to marriage without a common consent of his highness and the realm, doth straitly charge and command that all such as have attempted marriage, as also such as will presumptuously proceed in the same, not to minister the sacrament or other ministry mystical, nor have any office, cure, privilege, profit or commodity, heretofore accustomed, and belonging to the clergy of the realm: but shall be utterly after such marriage expelled and deprived, and be held and reputed as lay persons to all purposes and intents. And that such as after this proclamation shall of presumptuous minds take wives and be married, shall run into his grace's indignation, and suffer further punishment and imprisonment at his grace's will and pleasure.

[NUMBER XXV*.

INJUNCTIONS GIVEN BY THOMAS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE PARSONS, VICARS, AND OTHER CURATES, IN HIS VISITATION KEPT (SEDE VACANTE) WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF HEREFORD, ANNO DOMINI 1538.

Regist. Cranm. fol. 96. b. fol. 97. Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. ii. B. iii No. 12. pp. 285, 6. ed. Oxon. 1829.

I. First, That ye and every one of you shall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, observe and cause to be observed, all and singular the king's highness' injunctions, by his grace's commissaries given in such places as they in times past have visited.

II. Item, That ye and every one of you shall have by the first day of August next coming, as well a whole Bible in Latin and English, or at least a New Testament of both the same languages, as the copies of the king's highness' injunctions.

III. Item, That ye shall every day study one chapter of the said Bible or New Testament, conferring the Latin and English together, and to begin at the first part of the book, and so to continue until the end of the same.

IV. Item, That ye, nor none of you, shall discourage any layman from the reading of the Bible in Latin or English, but encourage them to it, admonishing them that they so read it for reformation of their own life and knowledge of their duty; and that they be not bold or presumptuous in judging of matters afore they have perfect knowledge.

V. Item, That ye, both in your preaching and secret confession, and all other works and doings, shall excite and move your parishioners unto such works as are commanded expressly of God, for the which God shall demand of them a strait reckoning; and all other works which men do of their own will or devotion, to teach your

parishioners that they are not to be so highly esteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any account.

VI. Item, That ye, nor none of you, suffer no friar or religious man to have any cure or service within your churches or cures, except they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the ordinary.

VII. Item, That ye and every one of you do not admit any young man or woman to receive the sacrament of the altar which never received it before, until that he or she openly in the church after mass or evening song, upon the holy-day, do recite in the vulgar tongue the Pater Noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

VIII. Item, That ye and every one of you shall two times in a quarter declare to your parishioners the band of matrimony, and what great danger it is to all men that useth their bodies but with such persons as they lawfully may by the law of God. And to exhort in the said times your parishioners, that they make no privy contracts, as they will avoid the extreme pain of the laws used within the king's realm by his grace's authority.

Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 81, 2. Park. Soc. ed.]

NUMBER XXVI.

PART OF A LETTER FROM A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE HOUSE ABOUT PASSING THE ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

[Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. 5. [fol. 128. b. British Museum. Original.]

And also news here, I assure you never prince shewed himself so wise a man, so well learned, and so catholic, as the king hath done in this parliament. With my pen I cannot express his marvellous goodness which is come to such effect, that we shall have an act of parliament so spiritual,

that I think none shall dare say, in the blessed sacrament of the altar doth remain either bread or wine after the consecration: nor that a priest may have a wife: nor that it is necessary to receive our Maker "sub utraque specie:"
48 nor that private masses should not be used as they have been: nor that it is not necessary to have auricular confession. And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely[k], my lord of Salisbury[l], my lords of Worcester[m], Rochester[n], and St. David's[o], defended the contrary long time; yet finally his highness confounded them all with God's learning. York[p], Durham[q], Winchester[r], [London[s], Chichester[t], Norwich[u],] and Carlisle[v], have shewed themselves honest and well learned men. We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion: and my lord chancellor[w], and my lord privy seal[x], as good as we can devise. My lord of Canterbury and all these bishops have given their opinion and come in to us, save Salisbury, who yet continueth a lewd fool. Finally, all in England have cause to thank God, and most heartily to rejoice of the king's most godly proceedings.

Without any name subscribed.

[k] [Thomas Goodrich.]
[l] [Nicholas Shaxton.]
[m] [Hugh Latimer.]
[n] [John Hilsey.]
[o] [William Barlow.]
[p] [Edward Lee.]
[q] [Cuthbert Tunstal.]
[r] [Stephen Gardiner.]
[s] [John Stokesley.]
[t] [Richard Sampson.]
[u] [William Rugge, alias Repps.]
[v] [Robert Aldrich.]
[w] [Sir Thomas Audley.]
[x] [Thomas Crumwel.]

[NUMBER XXVI*.

QUESTIONS[y] AND ANSWERS CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS AND THE APPOINTMENT AND POWER OF BISHOPS AND PRIESTS.

1. WHAT a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 53. Stillingfleet MSS. Lamb. Libr. 1108. f. 69.

The Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is: nevertheless, where in the Latin text we have *sacramentum*, there in the Greek we have *mysterium;* and so by the Scripture *sacramentum* may be called *mysterium, id est, res occulta, sive arcana.*

2. What a Sacrament is by the ancient authors?

The ancient authors call a Sacrament *sacræ rei signum,* or *visibile verbum, symbolumque, atque pactio qua sumus constricti.*

3. How many Sacraments there be by the Scriptures?

The Scripture sheweth not how many Sacraments there be; but *incarnatio Christi* and *matrimonium* be called in

[y] [The above questions and answers are printed verbatim as they stand in the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 53, preserved in the British Museum. Another copy is found amongst the Stillingfleet MSS. in the Lambeth-palace library; and they have been also printed by Burnet and Collier. Answers were given to these questions by other divines, amongst which are those of Thirlby, who is called "elect of Westminster," which fixes their date between Sept. 17 and Dec. 29, A. D. 1540. The questions, "believed to have been proposed to commissioners appointed in that year to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine," have been attributed to Henry VIII.; but Strype supposes that he was instigated by Cranmer in the matter, which supposition is confirmed by draughts of some of them in the archbishop's handwriting being still found in the Lambeth MSS. 1108. fol. 1. See Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 578 et sqq.; part ii. B. iii.; No. 21. pp. 314–67; vol. iii. p. 294; part ii. B. iii. No. 69, 70, 71. pp. 223–30. ed. Oxon. 1829; Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. v. pp. 97, 8; vol. ix. App. No. 49, pp. 175 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1840, 41.]

the Scripture *mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *sacramenta*. But one *sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, (as would to God it were!) and that is, *mysterium iniquitatis*, or *mysterium meretricis magnæ et bestiæ*.

4. How many Sacraments there be by ancient authors?

By the ancient authors there be many Sacraments more than seven; for all the figures which signified Christ to come, or testify that he is come, be called Sacraments, as all the figures of the old law, and the new law; *eucharistia, baptismus, pascha, dies Dominicus, lotio pedum, signum crucis, chrisma, matrimonium, ordo, sabbatum, impositio manuum, oleum, consecratio olei, lac, mel, aqua, vinum, sal, ignis, cineres, adapertio aurium, vestis candida*, and all the parables of Christ, with the prophecies of the Apocalypse, and such other, be called by the doctors *sacramenta*.

5. Whether this word Sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the seven only? And whether the Seven Sacraments be found in any of the old authors, or not?

I know no cause why this word "Sacrament" should be attributed to the seven only: for the old authors never prescribe any certain number of Sacraments, nor in all their books I never read these two words joined together, viz. *septem sacramenta*.

6. Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old authors, and so to be taught?

The determinate number of seven Sacraments is no doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the old authors.

7. What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the Seven Sacraments; so as

although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no? and in what wise spoken of?

I find not in the Scripture the matter, nature, and effect of all those which we call the Seven Sacraments, but only of certain of them: as of Baptism, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the blood of Christ.

Of *eucharistia,* in which we be concorporated unto Christ, and made lively members of his body, nourished and fed to the everlasting life, if we receive it as we ought to do; and else it is to us rather death than life.

Of Penance also I find in the Scripture, whereby sinners after baptism, returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto his favour and mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of Penance, as we call it a Sacrament, consisting in three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction: but the Scripture taketh Penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him.

Of Matrimony also I find very much in Scripture, and among other things, that it is a mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our concupiscence to the setting forth of his glory, and increase of the world, thereby sanctifying the act of carnal commixtion between the man and the wife to that use; yea, although one party be an infidel: and in this Matrimony is also a promise of salvation, if the parents bring up their children in the faith, love, and fear of God.

Of the matter, nature, and effect of the other three, that is to say, Confirmation, Orders, and Extreme Unction, I read nothing in the Scripture, as they be taken for Sacraments.

8. Whether Confirmation, *cum chrismate*, of them that be baptized, be found in Scripture?

Of Confirmation with chrism, without which it is counted no Sacrament, there is no manner of mention in the Scripture.

9. Whether the apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?

All Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance. And in both these ministrations they must have sundry ministers under them, to supply that which is appointed to their several offices.

The civil ministers under the king's majesty in this realm of England be those whom it shall please his highness for the time to put in authority under him: as for example, the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord great master, lord privy seal, lord admiral, mayors, sheriffs, &c.

The ministers of God's word under his majesty be the bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his highness to that ministration: as for example, the bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Winchester, the parson of Winwick, &c. All the said officers and ministers, as well of the one sort as of the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected in every place, by the laws and orders of kings and princes.

In the admission of many of these officers be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion: for if such offices and ministrations were committed with-

out such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed. And there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office.

In the apostles' time, when there was no Christian princes, by whose authority ministers of God's word might be appointed, nor sins by the sword corrected, there was no remedy then for the correction of vice, or appointing of ministers, but only the consent of Christian multitude among themselves, by an uniform consent to follow the advice and persuasion of such persons whom God had most endued with the spirit of counsel and wisdom. And at that time, forasmuch as the Christian people had no sword nor governor amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such curates and priests as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by other that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such wisdom, such conversation and counsel, that they ought even of very conscience to give credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented: and so sometime the apostles, and other, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed ministers of God's word; sometime the people did choose such as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or sent by the apostles or other, the people of their own voluntary will with thanks did accept them; not for the supremity, impery, or dominion that the apostles had over them to command, as their princes or masters; but as good people, ready to obey the advice of good counsellors, and to accept any thing that was necessary for their edification and benefit.

10. Whether bishops or priests were first? and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop?

The bishops and priests were at one time, and were

not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion.

11. Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no? and whether any other, but only a bishop, may make a priest?

A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election: for as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it; and the people, before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests.

12. Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture; for election or appointing thereunto is sufficient.

13. Whether, (if it befortuned a prince Christian-learned to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal-learned men with him), it be defended by God's law, that he and they should preach and teach the word of God there, or no? and also make and constitute priests, or no?

It is not against God's law, but contrary, they ought indeed so to do; and there be histories that witnesseth that some Christian princes, and other laymen unconsecrate, have done the same.

14. Whether it be forfended by God's law, that, (if it so fortuned that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, the Sacrament of Baptism and other unministered), that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?

It is not forbidden by God's law.

15. Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture, "*Quorum remiseritis*," and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest if he may have him, or no?

A man is not bound by the authority of this Scripture, "*Quorum remiseritis*," and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, although he may have him.

16. Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? and whether they only may excommunicate by God's law?

A bishop, or a priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to excommunicate, but where the laws of any region giveth him authority to excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such crimes as the laws have such authority in; and where the laws of the region forbiddeth them, there they have none authority at all: and they that be no priests may also excommunicate, if the law allow them thereunto.

17. Whether unction of the sick with oil to remit venial sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient author?

Unction of the sick with oil to remit venial sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient author.

This is mine opinion and sentence at present, which nevertheless I do not temerariously define, but refer the judgment thereof wholly unto your majesty.

T. CANTUARIEN. This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which I do not temerariously define, and do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your majesty[z].]

[z] [This passage, with the signature of the archbishop, is in his own handwriting, both in the Cotton and Stillingfleet MSS.]

NUMBER XXVII.

THE SOLUTION OF SOME BISHOP TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SACRAMENTS.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 5. p. 36. [British Museum. Original.]

The king's animadversions, of his own hand.	*The questions.*	*The answers.*
	1. What a Sacrament is?	1. Scripture useth the word, but it defineth it not.
Why then should we call them so?	2. What a Sacrament is by the ancient authors?	2. In them is found no perfect definition, but a general declaration of the word, as a token of a holy thing.
	3. How many Sacraments be there by the Scripture?	4. So named only Matrimony: in effect mo[re]; and at the least seven, as we find the Scripture expounded.
Why these seven to have the name, more than all the rest?	4. How many Sacraments be there by the ancient authors?	4. Authors use the word "Sacrament" to signify any mystery in the Old or New Testament: but especially be noted Baptism, Eucharist, Matrimony, Chrism, *Impositio manuum*, *Ordo*. [Here is omitted Penance.]
49	5. Whether this word Sacrament be, and ought to be, attribute to the seven only?	5. The word, because it is general, is attribute to other than the seven. But whether it ought especially to be applied to the seven only, God knoweth, and hath not fully revealed it so as it hath been received.
Then why hath the church so long erred, to take upon them so to name them?	Whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old authors, or not?	The thing of all is found, but not named all Sacraments, as afore.

The king's animadversions.	*The questions.*	*The answers.*
	6. Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a doctrine either of the Scripture, or of the old authors; and so to be taught?	6. The doctrine of Scripture is to teach the thing, without numbering, or naming the name Sacrament, saving only Matrimony. Old authors number not precisely. Twelve Articles of the Faith not numbered in Scripture, nor Ten Commandments, but rather one, "*Dilectio*," seven petitions, seven deadly sins.
* Then Penance is changed to a new term, i. e. Absolution. Of Penance I read, that without it we cannot be saved after relapse; but not so of Absolution. And Penance to sinners is commanded, but Absolution, yea, in open crimes, is left free to the askers. † Laying of hands, being an old ceremony of the church, is but a small proof of Confirmation. [Then shew where.]	7. What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven Sacraments? So although the name be not in Scripture, yet whether the thing be in Scripture, or no, and in what wise spoken?	1. Of Baptism manifestly. 2. Of the Holy Communion manifestly. 3. Of Matrimony manifestly. 4. Of Absolution* manifestly. 5. Of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ordered *per impositionem manuum cum oratione* expressly. 6. Laying† of the hands of the bishop after Baptism, which is a part of that is done in Confirmation, is grounded in Scripture. 7. Unction of the sick and prayer is grounded on Scripture.
This answer is not direct; and yet it proveth	8. Whether Confirmation *cum chrismate* of them that be bap-	8. The thing of Confirmation is found in Scripture, though the 50

The king's animadversions.	*The questions.*	*The answers.*
nother of the two points to be grounded in Scripture.	tized be found in Scripture?	name Confirmation is not there. Of Chrisma scripture speaketh not expressly, but it hath been had in high veneration, and observed since the beginning.
	9. Whether the apostles, lacking higher power, and not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?	9. The calling, naming, appointment, and preferment of one before another to be bishop or priest, had a necessity to be done in that sort, a prince wanting. The ordering appeareth taught by the Holy Ghost in the Scripture *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.*
	10. Whether bishops or priests were first: and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop?	10. Bishops, or not after.
	11. Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no? and whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest, or no?	11. Scripture warranteth a bishop, (obeying high powers as the prince Christianed), to order a priest *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.* And so it hath been from the beginning. Of others Scripture speaketh not.
	12. Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop or priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?	12. *Manuum impositio cum oratione* is required. Which is a consecration. So as only appointing is not sufficient.

The questions.	*The answers.*
13. Whether if it fortune a prince Christian learned to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him, it be defended by God's law, that he and they may preach and teach the word of God there, or no; and also make and institute priests, or no?	13. It is to be thought, that God in such cases, assisting the perfection of such an enterprise, would further teach and 51 inspire the conscience of such a prince, what he should and might do, more than is yet openly taught by the Scripture. Which in that case were a good warrant to follow. For a secret vocation supplieth where an open wanteth. A reason: necessity, in things absolutely necessary, containeth in it order, law, and authority.
14. Whether it be forefended by God's law, that if it so fortuned, that all the bishops and priests of a realm were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, the sacrament of baptism and others unministered, that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?	14. This question is without the compass of Scripture. Since the beginning of Christ's church when Christ himself made distinction of ministers, the order hath [had] a determination from one to another *per manuum impositionem cum oratione*. How it should begin again of another fashion, where it faileth by a case, Scripture telleth not, nor doctors write of it, that I have read.
15. Whether a man be bound by authority	15. Bound ordinarily.

The questions.	*The answers.*
of this Scripture *Quorum remiseritis*, &c., and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him, or no ?	
16. Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate ?	16. They may, being before of their prince authorized to minister.
For what crime ?	For open, public, deadly sins.
And whether [they] only by God's law.	Of excommunication by others we read not in the New Testament.
52 17. Whether unction of the sick with oil to remit venial sins, (as it is now used), be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient authors.	17. The thing is in Scripture, and in ancient authors, according whereunto the use should be. How it is indeed used is a matter of fact, and not of learning.

NUMBER XXVIII.

THE JUDGMENT OF ANOTHER BISHOP UPON THE AFORESAID QUESTIONS.

[1. What a Sacrament is ?]

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 5. fol. 38. [British Museum. Original.]

Scripture sheweth not what it is, but useth the word "sacramentum" in Latin for the word "mysterium" in Greek.

[2. What a Sacrament is by the ancient authors ?]

Sacrament by the authors is "sacræ rei signum," or "visibile signaculum," "sacrosanctum signaculum," "visibile verbum," "visibilis forma invisibilis gratiæ;" and perfect definition we find none.

[3. How many Sacraments be there by the Scripture ?]

In Scripture we find no determinate number of Sacraments.

[4. How many Sacraments be there by the ancient authors?]

There be very many in the most general signification: and there is no precise or determinate number of Sacraments in the ancient authors.

[5. Whether this word "Sacrament" be, and ought to be, attribute to the seven only? Whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old authors or not?] Abp. Cant. Bishop David's.[a]

Not only to the seven, but to many mo[re]. We find in old authors, Matrimony, Holy Communion, Baptism, Confirmation, Orders, Penance, and Extreme Unction. [In penance] it is doubted of the name of Sacrament.

[6. Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a doctrine either of the Scripture or the old authors, and so to be taught?]

As touching the determinate number of seven only, we find neither in the Scripture, nor ancient authors any such doctrine that should be seven only.

[7. What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect and virtue of such as we call the seven Sacraments. So although the name be not in Scripture, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken?]

Of Baptism Scripture speaketh, that by it sins be remitted. Of Eucharistia, that we be united by it to Christ, and receive spiritual nourishment to the comfort of our souls and remission of our sins. Of Matrimony, that the act of it is made lawful and without sin; and grace given whereby to direct ordinately the lusts and appetites of the flesh. Of Penance, that by it we be restored again to the favour of God, from which we did fall by sin. Of Orders, that by it grace is given to Abp. Cant. ministers effectually in preaching of the word of God, and

[a] [William Barlow.]

Abp. Cant. Bishop David's. ministration of the sacraments. Of Confirmation, which is contained in Scripture, speaking "de impositione manuum post baptisma," it appeareth by Scripture how thereby in-

Abp. Cant. Bishop David's. Mr. Cocks. crease of grace is given. Of Inunction of the sick, Scripture speaks that by unction of the sick, and prayer of the priests, comfort is given to the sick, and sins be forgiven him.

[8. Whether Confirmation "cum chrismate" of them that be baptized be found in Scripture?]

Abp. Cant. Bishop David's. "Impositionem manuum post baptisma," which we call Confirmation, we read in the Scripture. But that it was done "chrismate," we find not in the Scripture expressed. But in the old authors we find that "chrisma" hath been used in the same Confirmation.

[9. Whether the apostles lacking higher power, and not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?]

Abp. Cant. Making of bishops hath two parts: appointment and ordering[a]. Appointment, which the apostles by necessity made by common election, and sometime by their own
53 several assignment, could not then be done by Christian princes: because at that time they were not: and now at these days appertaineth to Christian princes and rulers[b]. But in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, (as afore), the apostles did follow the rule taught by the Holy Ghost, "per manuum impositionem cum oratione, et jejunio[c]."

[10. Whether bishops or priests were first: and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop?]

Abp. Cant. Bishop David's. Mr. Cocks. Christ made his apostles first, which were of his

[a] Where is this distinction found? [The king's note.]

[b] Now since you confess that the apostles did occupate the one part, which you now confess belongeth to princes, how can you prove that ordering is only committed to you bishops? [The king's note.]

[c] Ubi hoc? [The king's note.]

making, both priests and bishops. But whether at one time some doubt: after that the apostles made both bishops and priests: the names whereof in the Scripture be confounded.

[11. Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no? and whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest, or no?]

A bishop, having authority of his Christian prince to give orders, may by his ministry given to him of God in Scripture ordain a priest. And we read not that any other, not being a bishop, hath since the beginning of Christ's church ordained a priest. Abp. Cant.

[12. Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop or priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?]

Only appointment is not sufficient, but consecration; that is to say, imposition of hands with fasting and prayer is also required. For so the apostles used to order them that were appointed: and so have been used continually; and we have not read the contrary. Abp. Cant. Bishop David's.

[13. Whether if it fortune a prince Christian learned, to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him, it be defended by God's law, that he and they may preach and teach the word of God there or no; and also make and institute priests or no?]

In that necessity the prince and his learned men should preach and teach the word of God and baptize. But as for making and constituting priests, the prince shall and may then do as God shall then by inspiration teach him. Which God hath promised to do always to his church in revealing and teaching every necessary knowledge where any doubt requiring discussion doth arise.

[14. Whether it be forefended by God's law, that if it so fortuned that all the bishops and priests of a realm were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, the sacrament of baptism and others unministered, that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same or no?]

The answer to the other question next before dissolveth this.

[15. Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture "*Quorum remiseritis*," &c. and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him, or no?]

Abp. Cant. He that knoweth himself guilty of any secret deadly sins must, if he will obtain the benefit of absolution ministered by the priest, confess the same secret sins unto him.

York.	Eggeworth.	Absolution to be ministered by a priest, if a convenient priest may be had, is necessary.
Duresm.	Day.	
Carelyl.	Redman.	
Corwen.	Robynson.	
Simon.	Winchester.	
Oglethorp.		

Cant.	Layton.	Absolution by a priest is the surest way, if he may be conveniently had.
Hereford.	Tresham.	
Rochester	Cocks.	
David's	Crayford.	
Westminst.		

[16. Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate? For what crime? And whether [they] only by God's law?]

Abp. Cant. Bishop David's. Bishops or priests authorized by the prince may excommunicate by God's law for public and open crimes. But that others than bishops and priests may excommunicate, we have not read in Scripture. Some schoolmen say, that

other than priests or bishops deputed thereunto by the church may excommunicate. Because it is an act "jurisdictionis," and not "ordinis."

[17. Whether unction of the sick with oil to remit venial sins (as is now used) be spoken of in the Scripture or in any ancient authors.]

We find it spoken of in Scripture and in old authors. Abp. Cant. Bishop David's.

[NUMBER XXVIII*.

SOME QUERIES CONCERNING CONFIRMATION, WITH THE ANSWERS WHICH WERE GIVEN TO THEM BY CRANMER[d].

The judgment of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.

Whether Confirmation be instituted by Christ?

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 83. Strype, Eccl. Mem. App. vol. i. No. 88. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. Addenda, vol. i. No. 3. ed. Oxon. 1829.

Respon. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this sacrament to be institute of Christ.

First, for the places alleged for the same be no institutions, but acts and deeds of the apostles.

Second, These acts were done by a special gift given to the apostles, for the confirmation of God's word at that time.

Thirdly, the said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the apostles.

What is the external sign?

The church useth "chrisma" for the exterior sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

[d] [This paper was "written with Cranmer's hand." Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 479. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype however states, "This is writ (i. e. Hæc respondeo, &c.) with the archbishop's own hand; the rest above is the hand of his secretary." Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 349, 50. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

What is the efficacy of this sacrament?

The bishop, in the name of the church, doth invocate the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed; so that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value as is the prayer of the bishop made in the name of the church.

"*Hæc respondeo, salvo semper eruditiorum et ecclesiæ orthodoxæ judicio.*" Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 80. Park. Soc. ed.]

54

NUMBER XXIX.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO OSIANDER CONCERNING SOME ABUSES IN MATRIMONY AMONG THE GERMANS.

Doctissimo Andreæ Osiandro, concionatori Norenburgensi.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 5. p. 111. [British Museum. Original.]

Salve plurimum. Vix tribus abhinc diebus elapsis, Osiander dilectissime, literas ad te scriptitabam, quas per subitum et festinatum tabellarii discessum coactus sum abbreviare, imo abrumpere plane, prætermisso eo, quod et tunc quam maxime scriptum volui, et nunc otii plusculum nactus, nescio quam nervose, verbose certe decrevi pertractare. Res est, ut mihi quidem videtur, non parva, neque leniter animadvertenda, ut quæ ad omnium evangelicam veritatem profitentium sugillationem, ne dicam ignominiam et culpam manifeste pertineat. Proinde te rogo, ut et scriptum hoc meum legas attente, et tuum vicissim responsum super eo conficias accurate, matureque remittas, quo habeam tandem quod respondeam iis, qui me interrogant. Nosti enim, opinor, ut soleant homines hic omnium quæ istic geruntur a me rationem exigere: alii quidem bono animo, et communis evangelicæ causæ studio soliciti, nequid a vobis fieret secus quam oporteret; aliis autem malus est animus, mala mens. Nihil magis

cupiunt aut captant, quam ut justam aliquam, vos et vestra facta dictave reprehendendi, ansam undecunque apprehendant; et gaudent si mihi in os subinde talia possint objicere. Quibus duobus inter se diversis hominum generibus respondeo ego persæpe, quæ vel ipse comminisci possum, vel quæ ex scriptis vestris, sive in publicum emissis, sive ad me privatim missis, possim colligere. Incidunt tamen persæpe nonnulla, quæ nec negare possum, nec absque rubore fateri; nequeo denique quo pacto a vobis honeste aut pie fieri doceantur, rationem ullam saltem excogitare sufficientem. Nam ut interim de usuris taceam, a vobis aut vestrum certe nonnullis, (ut apparet), approbatis, deque eo, quod magnatum filiis concubinas habendas permittitis, (videlicet ne per nuptias legitimas hereditates dispergantur), qui concubinatum in sacerdotibus tantopere aversati estis: quid poterit a vobis in excusationem allegari pro eo, quod permittitis, a divortio, utroque conjuge vivo, novas nuptias coire, et, quod adhuc deterius est, etiam absque divortio uni plures permittitis uxores? Id quod et tute, si recte memini, in quibusdam tuis ad me literis apud vos factum diserte expressisti, addens Philippum ipsum[e] sponsalibus posterioribus, ut paranymphum credo atque auspicem, interfuisse.

Quæ ambo, tum ipsius conjugii rationi, quæ non duo, sed unam carnem facit, tum etiam scripturis sunt expresse et manifeste contraria: ut patet Matth. xix. Marc. x. Luc. xvi. Rom. vii. 1 Cor. vii. Quibus locis perspicuum fit ex apostolorum, atque adeo Christi ipsius, institutione, unum uni debere matrimonio conjungi; nec posse sic conjunctos postea, nisi interveniente morte alterutrius, denuo contrahere. Quod si responderitis, hoc intelligi excepta causa fornicationis; an uxoris adulterium fuerit causa cur Philippus marito permiserit aliam superducere,

[e] [i. e. Melancthon. See above, p. 180. n. [k].]

vos melius nostis. Quod si fuerit, tunc objiciemus, ab
55 ineunte hucusque ecclesia (cujus exemplis oportet scripturarum interpretationes conformari [confirmarique],) nunquam, quod scimus, hoc sic fuisse acceptum. Augustinus, quid ipse de hoc senserit, imo quid ecclesia ante ipsum, et usque ad ipsum, clare docet, Li. *De adulterinis conjugiis, ad Pollentium.* Quid igitur ad hæc dicetis, libenter vellem audire abs te quidem, si et ipse in eadem cum cæteris es sententia: sin minus, per te saltem vellem cognoscere, quid ab illis exploraveris ad talia responsum iri. Nam quum eorum nonnulli, ut audio, statuta nostra parliamentalia censorie nimis ac superciliose condemnent, quorum tamen gravissimas justissimasque causas ac rationes ignorant; mirum est quod interim ipsi non advertant apud ipsos plurima designari, quæ optimis atque gravissimis viris jure optimo displiceant. Scire atque aveo, an ista tanquam honesta, et promiscue quibusvis licita, ac evangelicæ veritati non repugnantia defendant; an secundum indulgentiam (ut dixit apostolus) ad ea, dum a quibusdam fiunt, connivent, nequid gravius contingat, non idem omnibus itidemque permissuri. Illud prius, haud equidem credo illos esse facturos, nisi legis Mahometanæ potius quam Christianæ assertores videri voluerint. Posterius hoc si faciunt, videant quomodo permittant, quæ Christus, apostoli, evangelistæ, atque adeo totius ecclesiæ consensus districte ab initio huc usque prohibuit.

Quod si forte dixerint, ea jam quoque tolerari posse, eo quod ante Christum natum fuerunt, vel approbata vel tolerata, tunc enimvero causam nobis reddant, cur non et cætera toleremus, quæcunque tunc legimus pari jure usitata; aut definiant quænam hujus generis, ac quatenus erunt admittenda. Nam in Veteri Testamento expressum habemus olim patrem concubuisse cum filiabus, ut Loth; socerum cum nuro, ut Judam; patrem familias, nempe

Abraham, cum ancilla pellice, conscia uxore, atque etiam id ultro suadente, nempe Sara; eundem ipsum uxorem suam, adhuc juvenculam, ac formosam, sororem nominasse, eamque regibus, Pharaoni et Abimelech, ultro in concubitum permisisse; præterea, unum sæpe hominem plures habuisse uxores, ut Jacob et Mosen ipsum, legis latorem a Deo constitutum; postremo, principes multos, eosque nec illaudatos, præter uxorum numerosa contubernia, concubinarum etiam greges aluisse, ut Davidem, Solomonem, &c. Nec Assuero vitio datur, quod singulis pæne noctibus concubinam novam asciverit. Et Hester fœmina laudatissima, utpote quam ad salutem populi sui Deus excitavit, quum esset Judæa, et legi Mosaicæ obnoxia, Assueri regis cubiculum ante nuptias intravit. Quid pluribus opus, quum gravissimi autores Ambrosius et Augustinus disertis verbis affirment, hic polygamiam, ille concubinatum, peccato tum caruisse, quando nec contra morem, nec contra præceptum fierent; quæ nunc et legibus et moribus pronuntiant esse contraria? Talia, inquam, constat apud veteres fuisse usitata, nec a bonis quidem viris tunc temporis improbata. Quæ vel omnia probabunt novi isti homines, et rerum novarum introductores, vel aliqua, vel nulla. Quod si nulla dicant nobis, cur ista admiserunt? Si aliqua, cur non et reliqua? Et præscribant nobis regulam, qua sciamus, quæ sunt admittenda, quæ vero rejicienda. Si omnia, (in qua sententia videtur esse Bucerus), quæso te, qualem rerum faciem, quantumque a priore mutatam in ecclesia videbimus? Quam erunt confusa, inversa atque præpostera omnia? Sed adhuc proprius urgebimus eos, interrogabimusque: an non tantum quæ sub lege facta sunt, sed etiam quæ 56
ante legem; et an non tantum, quæ a Judæis, sed et quæ a gentibus fuerint usitata, veluti jure postliminii, ad exemplum revocabunt? Et si illa tantum, cur non hæc æque

atque illa? Præsertim quæ a sanctioribus et sapientioribus viris, ut Socrate, Platone, Cicerone, &c. fuerint vel facta, vel approbata. Quod si utraque concedant et nobis Britannis, more majorum nostrorum, denas, duodenasque uxores habere insimul communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, parentes cum liberis: quod aliquando in hac insula usitatum fuisse, Cæsar, non ignobilis auctor, testatur in Commentariis. Concedant fœminis Christianis, quod Solon suis Atheniensibus concesserat, ut quæ viros parum ad rem venercam idoneos sortitæ fuissent, aliquem ex mariti propinquis impune admitterent. Concedunt quod Lycurgus concessit viris Lacedæmoniis, ut qui minus esset ad procreandam prolem idoneus, alteri cui vellet suam conjugem impregnandam daret, et prolem precario sibi natam, ut propriam, suo nomine nuncuparet. Aut denique quod Romanorum legibus permissum erat, ut qui satis liberorum procreasset, uxorem suam alteri commodaret prolem desideranti: id quod et Cato, vir gravissimus sapientissimusque habitus, Hortensio amico suo legitur fecisse. Talia cum probata fuerint antiquitus viris sapientissimis, ac philosophorum legumque latorum optimis et sanctissimis, ut Platoni, Xenophonti, Catoni, &c. quum eadem fuerint moribus recepta Hebræorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, (quorum populorum respublicas et politias constat optime fuisse constitutas, et ab omnibus scriptoribus maxime celebratas), age, faciamus et nos, si Deo placet, similia, et Christianis fratribus permittamus facienda. Imo Christus Opt. Max. tam fœda, tamque incestuosa connubiorum portenta a sua sancta ecclesia dignetur avertere, nunc et in diem Domini! Amen.

Hæc ego ad te potissimum, charissime Osiander, in præsentia scribenda duxi, propter eam, quæ inter nos est, et jam diu fuit, summa necessitudo et familiaritas; quamvis putem, atque adeo certo sciam, te ab hujusmodi

tam absurdis et moribus et opinionibus quam alienissimum esse. Cum cæteris vestratibus doctoribus levior et minus arcta mihi intercedit amicitia; cujus ipsius quoque (fateor) me multum pœniteret, si scirem hos esse fructus novi evangelii ab ipsius tantopere jactitati, et a vobis quoque hactenus, ut putabamus, non temere aliqua ex parte probati. Bene vale. Dat. Lambeth, 27mo Decembr. [1540.]

Tui amantissimus,

T. CANTUARIEN.

NUMBER XXX.

THE FRENCH KING'S LICENSE TO PRINT THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN PARIS.

[Cotton MSS.] Cleop. E. 5. p. 326. b. [British Museum. Original.] 57

FRANCISCUS, &c. dilectis nobis Richardo Grafton et Edwardo Whitchurch, Anglis, et civibus Londini, salutem. Quia fide digna testimonia accepimus, quod carissimus frater noster Anglorum rex, vobis cujus subditi estis sacram Bibliam tam Latine quam Britannice, sive Anglice imprimendi, et imprimi curandi, et in suum regnum apportandi et transferendi libertatem sufficientem et legitimam concesserit: et vos, tum propter chartam, tum propter alias honestas considerationes, animos vestros in hac parte juste moventes, dictam Bibliam sic imprimendam Parisiis infra hoc nostrum regnum curaveritis, ac in Angliam quamprimum transmittere intenderitis: NOS, ut hæc vobis facere liceat potestatem facientes, vobis conjunctim et divisim, ac procuratoribus, factoribus, et agentibus vestris et cujuslibet vestrum, ut in regno nostro apud chalcographum quemcunque dictam sacram Bibliam tam Latina quam Anglicana lingua, tuto imprimere, et excudere possitis, et possint: necnon excussa et impressa in Angliam duntaxat sine ulla perturbatione, aut molestia, vel impedimento quocunque, transmittere et apportare: dummodo quod sic imprimetis

et excudetis, sincere et pure, quantum in vobis erit, citra ullas privatas aut illegitimas opiniones, impressum et excusum fuerit: et onera ac officia mercatoria nobis et ministris nostris, debite in hac parte extiterint persoluta; licentiam nostram impartimur et concedimus specialem per præsentes. Dat. &c.

[NUMBER XXX.*

TO CRUMWELL.

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. 4. fol. 302. British Museum. Original. Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. part ii. B. iii. No. 65. pp. 213—216. ed. Oxon. 1829.

My very singular good lord, after my most hearty commendations; these shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have received your letters dated the xxvii. day of November: and therewith a bill concerning the device[d] for the new establishment to be made in the metropolitan church of Canterbury; by which your lordship requireth mine advice thereupon by writing, for our mutual consents.

Surely, my lord, as touching the book drawn and the order of the same, I think that it will be a very substantial and godly foundation; nevertheless in my opinion the prebendaries, which be allowed 40*l.* apiece yearly, might be altered to a more expedient use. And this is my consideration; for having experience both in time past and also in our days, how the said sect of prebendaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous belly cheer, I think it not to be a convenient state or degree to be maintained and established, considering first, that commonly a prebendary is

[d] [The bill concerning the device follows this letter. It was laid before James V. king of Scotland, by Sadler, the English ambassador at the Scottish court, by Henry VIII.'s directions. See Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 44. ed. Edinb. 1809.]

neither a learner nor a teacher, but a good viander. Then by the same name they look to be chief, and to bear all the whole rule and preeminence in the college where they be resident: by means whereof the younger, of their own nature given more to pleasure, good cheer, and pastime, than to abstinence, study, and learning, shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the said prebendaries, being their heads and rulers. And the state of prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men hath been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godly studies, and all other Christian exercises of preaching and teaching. Wherefore, if it may so stand with the king's gracious pleasure, I would wish that not only the name of a prebendary were exiled his grace's foundations, but also the superfluous conditions of such persons. I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no less purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men were: but forasmuch as both be gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offender with the other, it maketh no great matter if they perish both together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the church of Christ. And I assure you, my lord, that I think it will better stand with the maintenance of Christian religion, that in the stead of the said prebendaries were twenty divines at £10 apiece, like as it is appointed to be at Oxford and Cambridge; and forty students in the tongues, and sciences, and French, to have 10 marks apiece; for if such a number be not there resident, to what intent should so many readers be there? And surely it were great pity that so many good lectures should be

there read in vain: for as for your prebendaries, they cannot attend to apply lectures, for making of good cheer. And as for your sixty children in grammar, their master and their usher be daily otherwise occupied in the rudiments of grammar, than that they may have space and time to hear the lectures. So that to these good lectures is prepared no convenient auditory. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be considered, what a great loss it will be to have so many good lectures read without profit to any, saving to the six preachers. Farther, as concerning the reader of divinity and humanity, it will not agree well that one man should be a reader of both lectures. For he that studieth in divinity must leave the reading of profane authors, and shall have as much to do as he can to prepare his lecture to be substantially read. And in like manner, he that readeth in humanity had not need to alter his study, if he should make an erudite lecture. And therefore in mine opinion it would be two offices for two sundry learned men.

Now concerning the dean and other to be elected into the college, I shall make a bill of all them that I can hear of in Cambridge, Oxford, or elsewhere, meet to put into the said college, after my judgment: and then of the whole number the king's highness may choose the most excellent; assuring you, my lord, that I know no man more meet for the dean's room in England than doctor Crome[e], who by his sincere learning, godly conversation,

[e] [Dr. Crome was not appointed. (See Examination of Roland Philips, abp. Cranmer's works, vol. ii. p. 339, n. g. Park. Soc. ed.) "About the month of December, A. D. 1545, the next Lent following, Dr. Crome preaching in the Mercers' Chapel, among other reasons and persuasions to rouse the people from the vain opinions of purgatory, inferred this,..... that if trentals and chantry masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the parliament

and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the king's majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England. And yet his grace daily remembereth all other that doth him service, this man only except, who never had yet, (besides his gracious favour), any promotion at his highness' hands. Wherefore, if it would please his majesty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should shew light to all the deans and masters of colleges in this realm. For I know that when he was but president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides.

And thus my lord, you have my final advice concerning the premises, which I refer unto the king's grace's judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at his highness' pleasure: sending unto your lordship herewithal the bill again, according to your request. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Croydon, the xxix. day of November. [1539.]

Your own ever assured,
T. CANTUARIEN.

not well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which served principally to that purpose. But if the parliament did well, (as no man could deny), in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then is it a plain case, that such chantries and private masses do nothing confer to relieve them in purgatory. This dilemna of Dr. Crome, no doubt, was insoluble. But notwithstanding, the charitable prelates, for all the king's late exhortation unto charity, were so charitable to him, that on Easter next they brought him 'coram nobis,' where they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1234. ed. Lond. 1583. Latimer was implicated in this prosecution, as may be seen in Letters ccxliii. &c., from the council to Petre, printed in the State Papers, vol. i. pp. 842, et sqq.]

"CHRIST'S CHURCH, IN CANTERBURY.

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. iv. f. 301. British Museum. Original. Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. part ii. B. 3. No. 64. pp. 212, 13. ed. Oxon. 1829.

	£.	s.	d.
"First, A provost	150	0	0
"Item, Twelve prebendaries, every of them at 40*l.* by the year, sum	480	0	0
"Item, Six preachers, every of them 20*l.* a year	120	0	0
"Item, A reader of humanity, in Greek, by year	30	0	0
"Item, A reader in divinity in Hebrew by year	30	0	0
"Item, A reader both in divinity and humanity, in Latin, by the year	40	0	0
"Item, A reader of civil [law]	20	0	0
"Item, A reader of physic	20	0	0
"Item, Twenty students in divinity, to be found ten at Oxford, and ten at Cambridge, every of them 10*l.* by the year	200	0	0
"Item, Sixty scholars to be taught both grammar and logic, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, every of them five marks by the year	200	0	0
"Item, A schoolmaster 20*l.* and an usher 10*l.* by the year	30	0	0
"Item, Eight petty canons to sing in the choir, every of them 10*l.* by the year	80	0	0
"Item, Twelve laymen to sing also, and serve in the choir, every of them 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year	80	0	0
"Item, Ten choristers, every of them five marks by the year	33	2	4
"Item, A master of the children	10	0	0
"Item, A gospeler	6	13	4
"Item, An epistler	5	6	8
"Item, Two sacristans	6	13	4
"Item, One chief butler, his wages and diets	4	13	4
"Item, One under butler, his wages and diets	3	6	8
"Item, A cater to buy their diets, for his wages, diets, and making of his books	6	13	4
"Item, One chief cook, his wages and diets	4	13	4

	£.	s.	d.
"Item, One under cook, his wages and diets	3	6	8
"Item, Two porters	10	0	0
"Item, Twelve poor men, being old and serving men, decayed by the wars or in the king's service, every of them, at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year	80	0	0
"Item, To be distributed yearly in alms	100	0	0
"Item, For yearly reparations	100	0	0
"Item, Six to be employed yearly, for making and emending of highways	40	0	0
"Item, A steward of the lands.....	6	13	4
"Item, An auditor	10	0	0
"Item, For the provost's expenses in receiving the rents and surveying the lands, by the year....	6	13	4

"At what time the cathedral church of Canterbury [was] newly erected, altered and changed, from monks to secular men of the clergy, in the time of king Henry the VIII., as to prebendaries, canons, petty canons, choristers, and scholars, there were present at that erection Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Riche, chancellor of the court of the augmentation of the revenues of the crown, sir Christopher Hallis, knight, the king's attorney, sir Antony Sentleger, knight, with divers other commissioners. And taking upon them to nominate and elect such convenient and apt persons, as should serve for the furniture of the said cathedral church, according to the new foundation, it came to pass, that when they should elect the children of the grammar-school, there were of the commissioners mo[re] than one or two, which would have none admitted but younger brethren and gentlemen's sons. As for other husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of

Harl. MSS. 419. f. 115. British Museum. Original.

the learned sort; so that they wished none else to be put to school but only gentlemen's children.

"Whereunto that most reverend father, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, being of a contrary mind, said, that he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter. For, (said he), poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, with such like, and also commonly more given to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated.

"Whereunto it was on the other part replied, that it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation, and the gentlemen's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth. For we have as much need of ploughmen as of any other state, and all sorts of men may not go to school.

"I grant, (quoth the archbishop), much of your meaning herein, as needful in a common-wealth: but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, as well as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor nowhere else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will and pleasure: who giveth his gifts, both of learning and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times withdraw from them and their posterity again

those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof, as those that took upon them to build the tower of Babylon. For God would so provide, that the offspring of other best born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn and very dull, as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull, and without all manner of capacity. And, to say the truth, I take it that none of us all here, being gentlemen born, (as I think), but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage: and through the benefit of learning and other civil knowledge, for the most part, all gentles ascend to their estate.

"Then it was again answered, that the most part of the nobility came up by feat of arms and martial acts.

"As though, (quoth the archbishop), that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge, to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically, which rather that way is brought unto authority than else his manly looks. To conclude, the poor man's son by painstaking will for the most part be learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures, that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill and setteth him in high authority; and when so it pleaseth him, of his divine providence, deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted: if not apt, let the poor man's child apt enter his room. With such like words in effect." Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 397—399. Park. Soc. ed.]

NUMBER XXXI.

THREE DISCOURSES OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, OCCASIONED UPON HIS REVIEW OF THE KING'S BOOK, INTITLED, "THE ERUDITION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN[b]."

I. *Faith.*

MSS. C.C. C.C. Miscellan. D. [civ. pp. 241 et sqq.]

"THIS book speaketh of the pure Christian faith unfeigned, which is without colour, as well in heart, as in mouth. He that hath this faith converteth from his sin, repenteth him, that he, like 'filius prodigus,' vainly consumed his will, reason, wits, and other goods, which he received of the mere benefit of his heavenly Father, to his said Father's displeasure; and applieth himself wholly to please him again, and trusteth assuredly, that for Christ's sake he will and doth remit his sins, withdraweth his indignation, delivereth him from hell, from the power of the infernal spirits, taketh him to his mercy, and maketh him his own son, and his own heir: and he hath also the very Christian hope, that after this life he shall reign ever with Christ in his kingdom. For St. Paul saith, 'Si filii sumus, et hæredes; hæredes quidem Dei, cohæredes autem Christi.'

"This is the very pure Christian faith and hope, which every good Christian man ought to profess, believe, and trust, and to say of himself even as Job said, 'Scio quod Redemptor meus vivit, [et in novissimo die terra surrecturus sum, et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum, quem visurus sum ego ipse et non alius. Reposita est hæc spes mea in sinu meo.']

[b] [These discourses are corrected from the C.C.C.C. MSS. for this edition.]

"And as for the other faith, that the good shall arise unto glory, and the evil unto pain; or that those which 'persevere in God's precepts and laws, so long as they so 58 do, they be the right inheritors of his kingdom;' this is not the commendation of a Christian man's faith, but a most certain proposition, which also the devils believe most certainly. And yet they shall never have their sins forgiven by this faith, nor be inheritors of God's kingdom; because they lack the very Christian faith, not trusting to the goodness and mercy of God for their own offences, but they hate God, envy his glory, and be utterly in despair.

"For the more large declaration of the [pure] Christian faith, it is to be considered that there is a general faith, which all that be Christian, as well good as evil, have: as, to believe that God is, that he is the Maker and Creator of all things, and that Christ is the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, and for his sake all penitent sinners have remission of their sins; and that there shall be a general resurrection at the end of this mortal world, at the which Christ shall judge all the good to joy without end, and the evil to pain without end; with such other like things. And all these things even the devils also believe, and tremble for fear and grievousness of God's indignation and torments, which they shall endure, and ever shall do. But they have not the right Christian faith, that their own sins by Christ's redemption be pardoned and forgiven, that themselves by Christ be delivered from God's wrath, and be made his beloved children, and heirs of his kingdom to come.

"The other faith have all devils and wicked Christian people that be his members: but this pure Christian faith have none, but those that truly belong to Christ, and be the very members of his body, and endeavour themselves to persevere in his precepts and laws; although many

pretend to have the same pure faith, which nevertheless have it not, but only in their mouths. For as there is a love in the mouth and a love in the heart, even so there is a faith in mouth and a faith in heart. Examine every man if he trust in God, and love God above all things; and in words he will answer, Yea: but examine every man's acts and deeds, and surely in a great number their acts and deeds condemn their words. For they walk after their own wills and pleasures, and not after God's commandments. And Christ himself saith, 'Qui diligit me, mandata mea servat.' And St. John saith, 'Qui dicit se nosse Deum, et mandata ejus non custodit, mendax est.'

"And therefore all those that bridle not their own appetites, but follow them, and accomplish the will of their own carnal minds, they trust in God and love God no further than the lips. And if they persuade themselves that they trust in God and love God in their hearts, and be of any estimation before God, then be they much deceived; and, as St. Paul saith, 'they deceive their own hearts.' Our own flesh and carnal mind is contrary to the Spirit and motion of God; and 'they,' saith St. Paul, 'that belong unto Christ, do crucify their flesh with the affections and lusts thereof.' And contrary, he saith, 'They that follow the lusts of the flesh shall not inherit the kingdom of God.'

"These be very notable and fearful sentences unto all such as be not repentant, but live after their own wills, and not after God's will, neither have the right faith nor love unto God, nor shall be inheritors of his kingdom. And though Christ hath paid a sufficient ransom for all the sins in the world, and is a sufficient Redeemer and Saviour of all the world, yet shall they have no part
59 thereof; for they belong not unto Christ, and Christ

utterly refuseth them for his, which have faith and love only in their mouth, and have not the same engraven in their hearts, and expressed in their acts and deeds."

And so he goes on more largely to illustrate this argument of the necessity of more than a mere faith in the mouth. Afterwards the discourse thus proceeds:

"Even as treacle, kept only in the mouth, doth not remedy poison in the whole body; but the treacle must enter down into the body, and then it altereth the whole body, and expelleth all venom and poison: in like manner, he whose profession of his faith is only in his mouth, and altereth not his evil life, is not forgiven his sin, is not delivered from hell, nor from the power of devils, is not made the son of God; but continueth still in the poison of sin, in the wrath and indignation of God, and in the damnation of the wicked in hell.

"But, if the profession of our faith of the remission of our own sins, enter within us into the deepness of our hearts, then it must needs kindle a warm fire of love in our hearts towards God, and towards all others for the love of God,—a fervent mind to seek and procure God's honour, will, and pleasure in all things,—a good will and mind to help every man, and to do good unto them, so far as our might, wisdom, learning, counsel, health, strength, and all other gifts, which we have received of God, will extend,—and *in summa*, a firm intent and purpose to do all that is good, and leave all that is evil. This is the very right, pure, perfect, lively, Christian, hearty, and justifying 'faith, which worketh by love,' as St. Paul saith, and suffereth no venom or poison of sin to remain within the heart: 'fide Deus purificans corda,' (Acts xv.), but gendereth in the heart an hatred to sin, and maketh the sinner clean a new man: and this is

the faith, which every Christian man ought to profess in his creed; and of this faith runneth all our paraphrases upon the same. For, as for the other feigned, pretended, hypocritical, and adulterate faith in the mouth, it is but only a painted visor before men; but before God it is hollow within, dead, rotten, and nothing worth."

II. Justification.

"And, for a further declaration, to know how we obtain our justification, it is expedient to consider, first, how naughty and sinful we are all that be of Adam's kindred; and contrariwise, what mercifulness is in God, which to all faithful and penitent sinners pardoneth all their offences for Christ's sake. Of these two things no man is lightly ignorant, that ever hath heard of the fall of Adam, which was to the infection of all his posterity; and again, of the inexplicable mercy of our heavenly Father, which sent his only begotten Son to suffer his most grievous passion for us, and shed his most precious blood, the price of our redemption. But it is greatly to be wished and desired, that as all Christian men do know the same, so that every man might knowledge [and undoubtedly believe the same to be true, and verified, even upon himself; so that both he may humble himself to God, and knowledge] himself a miserable sinner, not worthy to be called his son; and yet surely trust, that to him, being repentant, God's mercy is ready to forgive. And he that seeth not these two
60 things verified in himself, can take no manner of emolument and profit by knowledging and believing these things to be verified in others. But we cannot satisfy our minds, [and] settle our conscience, that these things are true, saving that we do evidently see that God's word so teacheth us.

"The Commandments of God lay our faults before our eyes, which putteth us in fear and dread, and maketh us see the wrath of God against our sins: as St. Paul saith, 'Per legem agnitio peccati,' et, 'Lex iram operatur,' and maketh us sorry and repentant, that ever we should come into the displeasure of God and the captivity of the devil. The gracious and benign promises of God, by the mediation of Christ, sheweth us, (and that to our great relief and comfort), whensoever we be repentant, and return fully to God in our hearts, that we have forgiveness of our sins, be reconciled to God, and accepted, and reputed just and righteous in his sight, only by his grace and mercy, which he doth grant and give unto us for his dearly beloved son's sake, Jesus Christ; who payed a sufficient ransom for our sins; whose blood doth wash away the same; whose bitter and grievous passion is the only pacifying oblation, that putteth away from us the wrath of God his Father: whose sanctified body, offered on the cross, is the only sacrifice of sweet and pleasant savour, as St. Paul saith; that is to say, of such sweetness and pleasantness to the Father, that for the same he accepteth and reputeth of like sweetness all them that the same offering doth serve for.

"These benefits of God, with innumerable other, whosoever expendeth and well pondereth in his heart, and thereby conceiveth a firm trust and feeling of God's mercy, whereof springeth in his heart a warm love, [and] fervent heat of zeal towards God, it is not possible but that he shall fall to work, and be ready to the performance of all such works as he knoweth to be acceptable unto God. And these works only which follow our justification, do please God; forsomuch as they proceed from a heart endued with pure faith and love to

God. But the works which we do before our justification be not allowed and accepted before God, although they appear never so good and glorious in the sight of man. For after our justification only begin we to work as the law of God requireth. Then we shall do all good works willingly, although not so exactly as the law requireth, by mean of the infirmity of the flesh. Nevertheless, by the merit and benefit of Christ, we being sorry that we cannot do all things no more exquisitely and duly, all our works shall be accepted and taken of God as most exquisite, pure and perfect.

"Now they that think they may come to justification by performance of the law, by their own deeds and merits, or by any other mean than is above rehearsed, they go from Christ, they renounce his grace: 'Evacuati estis a Christo,' saith St. Paul, Gal. v. 'Quicunque in lege justificamini, a gratia excidistis.' They be not partakers of the justice that he hath procured, or the merciful benefits that be given by him. For St. Paul saith, (a general rule for all them that will seek such bye-paths to obtain justification); 'Those,' saith he, 'that will not knowledge the justness, or righteousness, which cometh by God, but go about to advance their own righteousness, shall never come to that righteousness, which we have by God, which is the righteousness of Christ:' by whom only all the saints in heaven, and all other that have been saved, have been reputed righteous
61 and justified. So that to Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer, on whose righteousness both their and our justification both depend, is to be transcribed all the glory thereof."

III. Forgiveness of injuries.

"These two may stand both well together; that we, as private persons, may forgive all such as have trespassed against us with all our heart; and yet that the public ministers of God may see a redress of the same trespasses that we have forgiven. For my forgiveness concerneth only mine own person, but I cannot forgive the punishment and correction that by God's ordinance is to be ministered by the superior powers: for insomuch as the same trespass, which I do forgive, may be [to] the maintenance of vice, not only of the offender, but also of others taking evil example thereby, it lieth not in me to forgive the same. For so should I enterprise in the office of others, which by the ordinance of God be deputed to the same. Yea, and that such justice may be ministered to the abolishment of vice and sin, I may, yea and rather, as the cause shall require, I am bound to make relation to the superior powers of the enormities and trespasses, done to me and other; and being sorry that I should have cause so to do, seek upon the reformation of such evil doers, not as desirous of vengeance, but of the amendment of their lives. And yet I may not the more cruelly persecute the matter, because the offence is peradventure done towards me; but I ought to handle it as if it were done to any other only, for the zeal of the extirpation of sin, the maintenance of justice and quietness, which may right well stand with the ferventness of charity, as the Scripture testifieth. 'Non oderis fratrem tuum in corde tuo, sed publice argue eum, ne habeas super illo peccatum.' Levit. 19.

"[So] that this may stand with charity and also the forgiveness that Christ requireth of every one of us, for and yet in this doing, I must forgive him with all my heart; [for] as much as lieth in me I must be sorry that sin should

have so much ruled in him; I must pray to God to give him repentance for his misdeeds; I must desire God, that for Christ's sake he will not impute the sin unto him, being truly repentant, and so to strengthen him in grace, that he fall not again so dangerously. I think I were no true Christian man, if I would not thus do. And what other thing is this, than for as much as lieth in me, with all my heart to remit the trespass? But I may by the laws require all that is due unto me by right. And as for the punishment and correction, it is not my part to enterprise therein: but that only belongeth to the superior powers, to whom, if the grievousness of the cause shall require by God's commandment, which willeth us to take away the evil from amongst us, we ought to shew the offences and complain thereof. For he would not that we should take away the evil, but after a just and lawful mean, which is only by the ordinance of God to shew the same to the superior powers, that they may take an order in it according to God's judgment and justice."

62

NUMBER XXXII

OTHER DISCOURSES OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER[a].

I. *De consolatione Christianorum contra metum mortis. Ex doctoribus ecclesiasticis.*

MSS. C. C. C. C. civ. p. 299.

If death of the body were to be feared, then them which have power to kill the body should we fear, lest they do their exercise over us, as they may at their pleasure. But our Saviour forbids us to fear them, because when they have killed the body, then they can do no more

[a] [The author attributes these discourses to Cranmer. See above, p. 221; "but his statement respecting the title being in the handwriting of the archbishop is certainly incorrect; and the 'guess'

to us. Wherefore it is plain, that our Saviour would not that we should fear death. "To die," saith St. John Chrysostom, "is to put off our old garments, and death is a pilgrimage of the spirit from the body," (he means for a time), "and a sleep somewhat longer than the old custom." The fear of it, saith he, is nothing else than the fear of bugs, and a childish fear of that thing that cannot harm thee. Remember holy St. Ambrose's saying, which St. Augustine, lying on his death-bed, ever had in his mouth, "I do not fear to die: for we have a good and merciful Lord and Master." Lactantius, the great learned man, confirms the saying of Cicero to be true, which said, "that no man can be right wise which feareth death, pain, banishment or poverty: and that he is the honest and virtuous man, which not regardeth what he suffers, but how well he doth suffer." Sedulius, one of
disciples, defineth death to be the gate, by the which lieth the strait way unto reign and kingdom. Basilius, who as in name, so both in virtue and learning was great, thus he exhorteth us: "O man!" saith he, "shrink not to withstand your adversaries, to suffer labours; abhor not death, for it destroys not, nor makes not an end of you, but it is the beginning and occasion of life. Nor death is the destruction of all things, but a departing and a translation unto honours." And St. Hierome, the strong and stout champion of Almighty God, saith, declaring this saying of holy Job, "the day of death is better than the day of birth;" "that is," saith he, "because other [either] that by death it is declared what we are, or else because our birth doth bind our liberty of the soul with the body, and death do loose it."

that he was the compiler of them, rests on very slight foundations." Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 316. On this account, and "because they are mere translations," Dr. Jenkyns neither placed them amongst the archbishop's works, nor printed them at length.]

The holy martyr Cyprian saith, "he ought to fear death that would not, nor hath no lust to go to Christ: and that he hath no will to God, the which believeth not that by death he shall begin to reign with Christ, as it is written, 'The right wise man liveth by faith.' Wherefore, saith he, do not ask that the kingdom of God may come, if this earthly bondage do delight us, &c."

With a great deal more: all upon allegations.

63 *II. An exhortation to take sickness well, and adversity patiently: drawn out of Cyprian.*

"This misliketh some men, that disease of sickness cometh to the Christian no less than to the heathen. As who should say, that therefore the Christian believeth, because he should be quiet from danger of adversity, and might have the fruition of this world at his own pleasure; and not because that after he hath suffered adversity here, he shall be reserved for the joy to come," &c.

III. An exhortation to take the pain of sickness patiently: translated out of St. Augustin, lib. i. de visitatione infirmorum[b].

"Thou wilt say, I love God: God grant," saith St. Augustin, "that it be so indeed as thou promisest in words. The proof and trial of the love of God is the fulfilling of his commandments, the fulfilling of his works, willingly to love that God loveth, with a fervent desire to embrace that, the which God worketh. Then if thou lovest God, thou lovest that that God doth, and if thou love that that God doth, then thou lovest God's dis-

[b] [August. de visit. infir. lib. i. c. iv. tom. ix. p. 429. ed. Paris. 1635. This treatise was not written by Augustine. See James' Corrupt. of Script. &c. p. 65. ed. Lond. 1843; Rivet. Crit. Sacr. p. 402. ed. Genev. 1626; Coci Censur. Patr. pp. 359, 60. ed. Helms. 1683.]

cipline. When thou art chastened, thou lovest God's rod. Thou art pained with a cough, the lungs faileth thee: thy stomach abhors his meat: thou pinest away with a consumption: thou tastest not thy drink: thou art vexed within thy body: thou art grieved with many sundry and divers kinds of diseases. But all these, if thou have an eye to perceive, if thou reckon God, all these, I say, are the gifts of God. Son, cast not away the discipline of the father. There is no child which the father doth not correct," &c.

NUMBER XXXIII.

INTERROGATORIES FOR DR. LONDON.

MSS. C.C.C.C. intit. Synodalia[c].

WHETHER he commanded Serles upon Palm-Sunday even to write such articles or sermons as had been preached in Kent: [by those of the new learning. Which Serles would have to be done by the countenance of Cranmer.]

Whether Serles brought the Articles upon Palm-Sunday.

Whether he required Serles to go with him to the council, to present the said Articles, or else to subscribe them with his hand. And Serles refused so to do, because they were not proved by witness, but only by hearsay.

Whether he threatened Serles, because he would not set to his hand; notwithstanding that Serles knew them not, but by hearsay.

How Dr. London did find out Serles; and how long he had inquired for him before he could find him.

[c] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cxxviii. p. 203 and sqq.]

64 Whether, in the presence of Serles, Dr. London did pen the Articles anew, otherwise than they were presented.

Whether Serles said then to Dr. Willoughby, whom Dr. London had persuaded to go with him to the council; beware what you do: for you shall never be able to prove them of this sort, that Dr. London doth now pen them.

Whether, beside the book subscribed by divers prebendaries and others of Canterbury, Dr. London made another great book of many more articles. Where that book is, and of whom he had his instructions.

What matters he knew against the archbishop of Canterbury, or others in Kent, before Palm-Sunday last past, when he had Articles of Serles. And of whom he had such knowledge before the said day.

Dr. Willoughby's confession and submission, as to his meddling in the archbishop of Canterbury's business, under his own hand.

He declared that he first met Serles at Dr. London's house at London, on Palm-Sunday, coming to London to speak with the chamberlain of London. And then they opened the business first to him. That he was not able to say any thing against any one person mentioned in these Articles, more than by hearsay. That he and Gardiner had been gathering of matter a quarter of a year before. That he knew nothing that they minded any thing towards his grace, till he saw it in writing; by whom and whose device God, the devil and they know; he knew nothing for his part. And that it was the most deceitful and disobedient country in the world. As concerning their preferment of their Articles at the sessions, he knew nothing of that neither. Nor was in Kent at that time, nor knew of no sessions, as God

should be his help. Nor that he spake with any justices of peace in this matter; or that he was privy that any of them did. That he told Mr. Moyle and Mr. Thwaite [two eminent justices] what Mr. London said to him, that the justices all would be shent, because they suffered such preachings and contentions without doing any thing therein. That he only consented to bear the name of putting up of these matters [that is, of preferring the Articles to the sessions]. He acknowledged, that he said, he heard that it was in the country in many places: lying upon himself like a fool; and yet that he never came before the council, nor never minded. But to avoid the suspicion, he made much babbling, bringing himself into much slander.

And for this doing he submitted himself to God and my lord's grace. That, by his father, [a sort of oath], he had no dealing with Pettit, nor any other lawyer, or did know what they did as to indictment, or any other thing thereunto belonging: nor ever reasoned with Pettit about any such matter. What effect or head they intended to bring this matter unto, God knoweth: most likely to subdue his grace's power. That they had good hope to have had other commissioners than his lordship. So London promised them at the beginning, or else they would not have meddled so much as they did: and especially against his grace. That as concerning their autho- 65
rity, he suspected they took it of London's presumption, seeing him go forward against such men of worship [meaning the late indictments of so many eminent persons at Windsor] and of the rigour in handling and fetching up of persons.

Another confession of Dr. Willoughby.

Mr. Serles many times resorted home to me, and still lay upon me to put up articles that he and they should devise, because I was the king's grace's chaplain. Whereupon I granted, so they might be proveable and true. And so it fortuned in passion Week, he and I of Friday in the same week rode to London, and on Saturday he had be[en] with Dr. London, and put up his articles, [nothing to my knowledge that he had any] and promising him that he would put them up himself. And on Palm-Sunday in the morning he sent for me, and prayed me to go with him to Mr. London: and so I did, and there, (woe worth them both, London and Serles, who is ordained to cause much trouble), he told London that I would put up the articles, and so asked me the question. And I bade him read them, for I never saw them before, nor knew whether they were true or false: and so I told him. And Serles said, ye know, it is openly spoken. And I said, though I hear such things, I am not sure they be true: and also here is no record to affirm them true: which methink were row [rough] matter, knowing neither party nor record. And therefore seeing Serles hath put them to you, let him present them himself. Then Mr. London said, I have shewed them to part of the council already: and chid sore with Serles, saying, that he would shew the truth, who brought them. Then said Dr. London to me, put ye them up, knowing such shameful articles presented here before your own face, it shall be hard for you to bide the danger hereof, knowing the king's will is to have it so. And also fear not; for I have set such a spectacle before you at Windsor, in bringing to light abominable heresies: at the which the king's majesty was astonied, and wondered, angry both with the doers and bearers. And

therefore if ye shrink herein, ye shall shew yourself not to be herein the king's true subject. Therefore seeing ye be his chaplain, ye did him never such service, as ye may do herein, to present them for your discharge. For now ye shall not be rid of them and ye would. [Having heard them read, and so being privy to them.]

And with this threatening and fear I was content. And so Dr. London wrote them new, and added to them at his pleasure: wherewith both Serles and I were vexed. Meaning, as he said, to bring the matter into the justices' hand, and certain of the spiritualty; whose names Serles recited at his request: saying to us, that it would never be known to be our doing. And so was I fain to take the old copy with me into Kent, to get them recorded. And he sent his copy to my lord of Winchester; and so when I came down into Kent, remembering this article to be put up in my name, and neither had record nor knew them to be true, I came to the prebend of Christ- 66
church, and brought with me the articles, being all of Serles' hand, and gathering of him and them among themselves: and bade me ask for one Salisbury that had the key of his chamber, for certain other writings and copy all in one, and set their hands to them: and Mr. Gardiner to sign for himself and Serles to boot. I could get neither writing nor sign; and so I went up again, and told London of it with a heavy heart. Then Mr. London told me, I should tell Mr. Moyle, that the council said to him, that the justices of every shire should be shent, that such things should be, and not brought to knowledge; for if every justice had done his duty according to the king's injunctions, such enormities need not to have been. And I told Mr. Moyle and Mr. Thwaites both, what I heard therein of London; also Mr. London came to Mr. Moyle's lodging one day, and talked with him his

mind, as may fortune he hath better in remembrance than I. But then I heard him tell Mr. Moyle how he took up my lord of Canterbury before the council. Then the next day after I came to Mr. Moyle again, and because he heard that the council should say so, and also had other commandments for his discharge, sent certain letters to Mr. Thwaites, Mr. Walter Moyle, Mr. Green, and Mr. Norton, to search out any priest that lacked a crown with such articles as the country rumoured of. Whereupon each of them sent up some; and then the prebendaries wrote up apace. And Mr. Moyle brought all that came to his hand to my lord of Canterbury, and therewith Mr. London was angry, and said he would mar all.

Then I went down into Kent again, and brought up the articles, wherein was matter against my lord of Canterbury, and received them of Mr. Gardiner on Good-Friday or Easter-Even, and Mr. Shether copied them again. Which articles they prayed me to carry to my lord of Winchester. And I kept it and let Dr. London see it; and he caused me to send it down to be signed with the hands of them, and so I did, and kept the copy; and then when I had it signed, I kept it still till their coming; and they took it of me, and carried it to the council themselves. And Dr. London had a copy of them, or else before; and they told me they had great comfort of my lord of Winchester, and of Mr. Baker both.

Also Dr. London brought me by commandment of mine allegiance, to go with him to the council-chamber door; meaning to have me in before the council. But he went in and told them of my being there; giving me this lesson that I should say, "My lords all; it is so, that the king's majesty and his honourable council hath been at great charges, and taken great pains, to set a good and a godly way among us. And for all that in Kent among us, we

have the most enormous heresies that may be. And because I heard of this gracious tidings, that his will and pleasure is, that every man in pain of his allegiance to bring in what he knoweth, or else hereafter we know, and would not speak it, our damage would be thence. And because of this, I come for my discharge to shew this." But I came not in, nor spake with none: their business was so much.

Also the next day after Dr. London carried me to my lord privy seal's chamber, and the articles with us. But he had no leisure to see them.

Also the next day after that I had been with my lord 67
privy seal, Dr. London carried me to my lord of Winchester. And there he was carried into my lord's secret chamber; and tarried there an hour, and had his Articles new copied with him. And the next day, in the morning betimes, I went there to speak with my lord of Winchester myself. And I spake with him, and prayed him that the Articles that Mr. London brought should not be put up in my name, for I knew not the matter, but in the names of them that sent them. And he said he would. And another time I came to my lord of Winchester, and brought a roll from Mr. London: and then I prayed him again that he would not put them up in my name, and had him recommended from Mr. Gardiner, that he would be good lord to him for a business of
for he had taken great pains in this matter.
But he made me no promise. And also my lord of Winchester bade me not fear to do my duty. And the matter were not to be bide by, the doers should bear the blame, and not the presenter. It is all our duties to stand in such things as are contrary to the king's injunctions.

And here is all that ever I did in this matter, as I can remember: and all the council that ever I came before

in this matter, or any other. But thus, by the comforting in this matter of my lord of Winchester, and Dr. London's threatenings, have brought myself in great dangers with other men's matters; and nothing of myself that I can either see or prove, nor never did: but busied myself with other men's articles: yet had I never done it, and London had not been, that threat me to be no true subject. Woe worth them both, he and Serles; for, by their false inventions, I am shamed. If their Articles be false, punish the inventors with shame; for shameful matters, and many have been gathered among them.

Also Mr. London commanding both Serles and me, that in anywise we should get as much matter as could be devised; for it would be the goodliest deed, and the most bounden duty to our prince, that ever we did.

Also Mr. Shether sent his man to me on Sunday before All-Souls' day, bidding me in anywise not to be known of nothing, for that they had uttered nothing themselves. And that I should go to his brother parson, and I should know more, for he was sworn not to write to me; but he had written to his brother all his mind, and of him I should know all. For Mr. Dr. Cockes and Mr. Hussy, as he thought, was sent to catch me; and therefore he sent his man to be afore. And if I did speak with them, that I should say, that I received no letter but of Cockson, which is dead. And this was but to bring me in danger, and excuse themselves. And if I come before the council, I will bide by all this; for it is true. But it is impossible for a man to have every day or time in remembrance that hath been done or said in a year. But I put all to God's grace, and the king's, and to your lordship.

Also I asked Shether's man whether he had been with my lord of Winchester since the coming down of my

lord's grace. And he said, yea; and told my lord how all was handled here among us. And my lord of Winchester answered and said, my lord of Canterbury could not kill them: therefore suffer, for all was against himself that he did. And he should see what would come of it.

Also, at the coming up of the prebendaries to London, 68
Mr. Shether put the Articles and writings to Mr. Ford, that married his sister, that he should write them. Which was a great book of two days' labour. What was the contents thereof I know not. I think all the whole Articles compiled together.

Also Mr. Dr. Thornton in the ale [alley] before my door in London, I desired him to speak to my lord of Canterbury, or some of his officers, to instruct him that I never put up Articles against any man in my life. And he bade me stick to it, and be not afraid, for he had spoken to the council his mind therein, as he was bound: and so be ye, being the king's chaplain, or else hereafter it would be laid to your charge.

By me,
JOHN WILLOUGHBY.

ANOTHER WRITING OF WILLOUGHBY.

About Advent Mr. Serles preached at home with me at Chilham, and there he talked of his trouble, saying, he had put up certain Articles to the king's majesty; and yet they were so cloaked that his grace never saw them. Whereupon at his return he was laid in prison. And so he lay upon me, and moved me to put up such Articles, as he and his company should devise. Whereupon I granted, so they might be true and proveable. So I heard no more of this till Passion-Sunday; for that day he preached with me again: at which time he

told me that he would to London that week, and so to Oxford. And I promised to ride with him: and so I did, meaning no more of this matter than the child unborn. Mine errand was to speak with the chamberlain of London. So on Palm-Sunday, in the morning, he sent his man for me to come [to] meet him in Paul's. And so I did meet him there. And so he prayed me to go to Dr. London with him, which man I never saw before, of my faith: but he had been with him the night before, and put up his Articles; promising him that he would go on Monday, in the morning, with him to the court, and put them up before the council, as Mr. London said before his face. And in the morning he was clean changed, saying to Mr. London, that there was one Willoughby that came to the town with him, which had promised him, that whensoever we will bring our Articles unto him, he will present them. And so Dr. London told me that Serles said so unto him; and hereupon he moved me. And I desired to hear them; and so they were read unto me: which things methought were but trifles. And I said they were of no effect to present before the council, and also neither knew, nor could affirm none of them to be true: saying, let Serles put them up, that brought them hither; for here is no record to affirm none of these to be true. Then, said Serles, ye know that all the country doth speak of these. And I said, though I did hear part of them, yet I am not able to say that one of them is true. And because ye know them perfect, and the doers of them, and have also brought them hither, it is most meet for you to
69 answer to them. And then Mr. London said, that he had shewed them to part of the council, and to my lord of Winchester. For I see the copy that was sent to my lord was of London's own hand; for he that copied

them out before us was a gentleman of my lord of Winchester's, or to him belonging, Mr. London's copy lying before him. This appeareth that this matter was consulted before: Serles can tell what the man was, (and so cannot I), that did write them. But as I now remember, it was German [that is, German Gardiner,] &c.

By me,
JOHN WILLOUGHBY.

GARDINER'S PENITENT LETTER UNTO THE ARCHBISHOP.

Gentle father. Whereas I have not borne so good, so tender a heart towards you as a true child ought to bear, and as you never gave unto me occasion otherwise, but rather by benefits provoked me unto the contrary, I ask of you with as contrite a heart as ever did David ask of God mercy. And I desire you to remember the prodigal child: which although from his father swerving, and yet into favour received again, to receive me although unkindly now by folly I did forsake you, and not borne my heart so lovingly, so truly towards you, as in dutifulness I should have done. I am full sorry for my fault. And yet, good father, be you well assured, as I opened my conscience unto you at my last communing with you, that I did never bear malice against you. But the greatest cause that ever occupied my heart against you, and for the which I did bear my heart so little towards you was, as God shall save the soul of me, that I saw so little quietness among us, and so great jars in Christ's religion: supposing that by your permission and sufferance, (which was not so, as I do now perceive), that it did arise unto the great grief of my conscience. I condescended the sooner unto the making of the book against your grace, when I was thereunto moved by that same suggester, Willoughby: where and of whom he took occasion to

bring his bills unto Canterbury; [and to move occasion], I know not. Good father, for my setting forth that same book, partly by me made, heartily confessing my rashness and indeliberate doings, I ask of you mercy. Requiring you of your charity to impute the great fault of it unto those, which ministered unto me occasion; and to remit unto me my lightness. For of truth I was greatly seduced. Remember, good father, that our parent was seduced, and yet of God forgiven. Forgive me, good father. By whom I was seduced my confession doth declare. And father, if it shall please you now, more of your goodness than of my deserving, (punishment and that sharp I have deserved), to forgive unto me this my fault and unkindness, you shall never hereafter perceive in me, but that at all times I shall be as obedient, and as true unto you, as ever was child unto his natural father. If otherwise at any time you find of me, never trust me, never do for me; but utterly without all favour cast me into pain, as possible is for any wretch to suffer. Gentle father, ponder my grief, which is at my heart not little.
70 And through your goodness remitting unto me my unkindness, and granting mercy with liberty, I desire your grace to set me into ease both of heart and body. I am your's, and shall be your's, and that truly, while I live.

God prosper your grace, per me
WILLIAM GARDINER.

Good father, I have given myself unto you, heart, body and service; and you have taken me unto you. Now remember me, that now am your true servant.

ANOTHER LETTER OF GARDINER TO THE ARCHBISHOP.

Most honourable prelate. Due commendations premised, these be to give thanks unto your grace, for

that you did yesterday so favourably use me sending for me unto your presence: whom I thought that I should never, (pensiveness lay so sore at my heart), have seen again. And among all your communications, that your grace had unto me, I noted these words of highest comfort. Your grace did note that I did call you father in my writings, you said unto me yesterday, 'you call me father: in good faith I will be a father unto you indeed.' Words of high comfort unto me. Besides this, most honourable lord, you promised that I should have a book of all articles laid in against me, to make answer unto them. I beseech your grace that I may so have. For there is nothing that I have done or known to be done, but if I can call it into remembrance, I will truly open it. God prosper your grace.

By yours, and ever shall be,

WILLIAM GARDINER.

SHETHER'S LETTER OF SUBMISSION TO THE ARCHBISHOP.

My duty always remembered unto your gracious lordship. I most humbly beseech the same to have compassion upon me your prisoner. And forasmuch as I think, by the articles, which Mr. Joseph mentioned, that your grace hath not only the articles subscribed with the witness' hands, but also other articles: which I noted since that time; as I heard by Mr. Gardiner, Coxton, Morice and others. So that your gracious lordship knoweth all that ever I have heard. Pleaseth it your lordship to understand, that many of those articles last noted were of "the book, that was presented to my lord of Winchester, as imperfect and not proved; as indeed many could never be justified, as far as ever I heard." And therefore my lord of Winchester sent it again, as I have said in my first declaration. And "it

was never willed to be shewed as true." But, gracious lord, whether I have offended in that, that I noted those articles, after that I was willed by Mr. Baker to mark
71 the chiefest fautors of new opinions, I refer it to your gracious judgment; and whatsoever shall be thought, (as nothing can be hid, nor I would should not, of any my life, from any of you both), that I have offended in; I beseech you both of your mercy and favour, and to be good to me, instantly and briefly, (for I am loath to trouble you, or to seem to mistrust your goodness), desiring you to have in remembrance my weak nature, and the long and solitary durance I have suffered, with grievous vexation of mind. And for refreshing thereof to license me to eat and drink at meals with company: and being so nigh my chamber, that I may remain in the same: to the intent I may pass the time with my own books. Heartily desiring your good lordship that notwithstanding any thing heretofore done, or howsoever I have before wandered, not conformably to your gracious advertisement or expectation, yet, gracious lord, accept a poor heart, which would gladly be received into your fatherly favour again, to declare his faithful mind, he hath conceived towards your goodness, upon such pity as your gracious lordship hath shewed, and I trust now will, in his extreme need. Assuring your grace that my whole confidence and only trust is reposed in your goodness only,
Dr. Leigh. and gentle Mr. Doctor; whose native merciful hearts, as they have be[en] declared ofttimes towards many, so I most meekly beseech you both mercifully to interpretate my acts, and to declare your pity in releasing my sorrows, as shortly as shall seem convenient to your wisdoms. For whom I will not cease to be a perpetual orator to Almighty God. I most heartily desire to know your gracious pleasure in the premises, and especially whether your

lordship hath the book subscribed with the witness' hands or no. For although "that in the copy of my brother's [hand was the articles that touched your lordship that in the other] book, it appeareth who hath subscribed to other articles of Mr. Drum and Mr. Scory and others," which I do not remember.

Your gracious prisoner,
EDMUND SHETHER.

MILLES' LETTER OF SUBMISSION.

MOST reverend father in God, my humble duty remembered unto your grace. And I, knowing right well that in that I subscribed unto certain articles, (though unadvisedly), have shewed great unkindness unto your grace in my so doing. And again, for that [I] have deserved little kindness at your grace's hand, and do now suffer cold imprisonment at your grace's pleasure. Which is very tedious [and] painful unto me, and as I fear great danger might ensue unto me, by augmenting that cold and cough, that I have taken before, and now increaseth. Besides the inward pensiveness of heart taken, for this my rash fact, at other men's light motion, as others of my company did: which now I think lamenteth them much: yea, so much, that at such time as I have been in company with them, I have heard them say, that they could not sleep, neither eat that thing, or drink, that did do them much good, as I am one of them. Wherefore, most gracious lord, these premises and others considered, by the which sickness of body may not the heart waste, this shall be to humbly beseech your grace to mercifully intreat me, and 72
that now I may find some drop of mercy at your grace's hands, for this my imprisonment. Assuring your grace that I shall take this punishment for my learning; and not at any time hereafter to be so lightly allured at any

man's motion to put so unadvisedly my hand, or consent to any such matter hereafter. Now, gracious lord, shew pity and mercy unto me, which I do ask of your grace, and do heartily desire it with weeping eye, and sorrowful heart, as knoweth God.

By your
JOHN MYLLYS.

NUMBER XXXIV.

A LETTER PREPARED FOR THE KING TO SIGN, TO RATIFY CERTAIN ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS.

HENRICUS octavus, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor, et dominus Hiberniæ, ac in terris Anglicanis sub Deo caput supremum: omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, clericis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, generosis, ac aliis cujuscunque generis hominibus, subditis et legiis nostris, per regnum nostrum et dominia nostra ubilibet commorantibus, salutem, et evangelicæ veritatis incrementum.

Cum vos, optimi cives mei mihique carissimi, me nunc unum atque solum hujus regni principem, in terrisque secundum Deum, hujus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ unicum supremumque caput, quemadmodum divini atque humani juris ratio postulat, potestatemque tam ecclesiasticæ quam mundanæ politiæ mihi majoribusque meis, ipso jure divino concessam, (verum multis seculis unius Romani episcopi malitia, fraude, dolis, atque astutia ereptam), ad me et successores meos pertinere una voce, uno omnium assensu agnoscitis, non possum in dies magis magisque, muneris atque officii mei rationem non habere, deque illustranda Dei gloria, de Christianæ pietatis vera doctrina propaganda, de imperii hujus incolumitate, et quiete tuenda, summa animi cura atque cogitatione non esse solicitus. Occurrant enim subinde animo meo verba illa, quæ Sapientæ cap. septimo habentur ad hunc mo-

dum: "Audite reges et intelligite, quoniam data est a Domino potestas vobis, et virtus ab Altissimo; qui interrogabit opera vestra, et scrutabitur cogitationes. Ad vos ergo, reges, sunt hi sermones mei, ut dicatis sapientiam, et ne excidatis. Qui enim custodit justitiam, juste judicabuntur, et qui didicerunt justa, invenient quid respondeant," &c. Hinc facile perspici potest exactissime a regibus potestatis suæ reddendam esse rationem, illosque gravissimas manere pœnas, si non, ut oportuit, in rep. administranda sese gesserint.

Quod si tanta cura ac solicitudine quibuscunque regibus opus est, quam anxios igitur ac solicitos Christianos reges esse debere censendum est, quibus non politia modo civilis, sed ecclesiastica etiam potestas data est? Hos enim non tantum quæ ad humanam societatem pertinent, sed etiam quæ divinæ Christianæque religioni maxime consentanea sunt, curare necesse est. Præsentem hujus sæculi fælicitatem principes Christianos ita metiri con- 73
venit, ut hac potestate sua ad Dei cultum dilatandum utantur, et in hoc incumbant, ut recta doctrina propagetur, orneturque Dei gloria.

Cum igitur a Christianis regibus justitiam in imperio, pacis tuendæ curam, pietatem, studium juvandæ et ornandæ religionis Christianæ exigi animadverterem, nihil mihi potius esse debere judicabam, quam ut omnes inirem rationes, quo minus in hoc meo regno hæc a me desiderentur, et quoad possem, muneri imposito satisfacerem. Hoc ut facilius, expeditiusque præstare valeam, non ignoratis vos, quantam curam adhibuerim in illis rebus promovendis tuendisque, quæ huic negotio maxime conducere, atque adjumento esse videbantur; quæ contra impedire atque obesse visa sunt, quanto studio tollere ac delere conatus sum, assidueque conor. Abunde enim vobis declaratum hactenus fuit, quam in hac nostra Britannia, multis retro sæculis, episcopi Romani vis injusta,

ac non ferenda, sacro sancto divino Numini inimica fuit; quantopere religioni Christianæ, veræ doctrinæ propagandæ adversata est, quantum hujus reip. pacem ac tranquillitatem sæpissime interturbavit, potestatemque regiam divinitus constitutam labefactando, debitam omnium obedientiam, a vero ac justo principis sui imperio, contra omne jus divinum et humanum, ad se transferre ausus est. Hujus potestatem huic cum divino munere sublatam esse manifestum est, et nequid superesset, quo non plane fractam illius vim esse constaret, leges omnes, decreta atque instituta, quæ ab authore episcopo Romano profecto sunt, prorsus abroganda censuimus. Quorum loco, ut facilius imposterum Dei Opt. Max. gloria illustretur, et vera philosophia Christiana regnumque Christi vigere possit, et quo omnia decenter et ordine in Christi hac ecclesia gerantur; en vobis authoritate nostra editas leges damus, quas a vobis omnibus suscipi, coli et observari volumus, et sub nostræ indignationis pœna mandamus, ut vestra in Deum pietas, amor erga patriam, principemque vestrum obedientia, non sine immensa divini Nominis gloria omnibus conspicua sit, ac vosmetipsos non minus de vestris rationibus solicitos ostendatis, quam ego vestra causa de officio fuerim meo, stricte præcipientes, ut his nostris constitutionibus vos omnes et singuli, tam in judiciis, quam in gymnasiis utamini, severe prohibentes, ne quisquam vestrum alias, præter has, et regni nostri leges admittere præsumat. Valete.

[The "Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law" will be given with the Addenda, at the end of the Appendix to the third volume.]

END OF VOL. I.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

CRITICAL observations having been made upon the first volume of Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, as published by the Ecclesiastical History Society, on the ground that the Editor had omitted Wharton's Observations on the Memorials, and had neglected to consult that archbishop's register at Lambeth, the reader is requested to observe that Wharton's Observations are now appended in portions to each volume of the edition, and that the bulls of Pope Clement VII. for the consecration, and the consecration oath of Archbishop Cranmer, together with "the letter of the Prior of Canterbury," and "the oath of fidelity to the King against the Bishop of Rome," taken by Boner at his consecration, are also published "*in extenso.*"

With respect to the Cranmer Register, the Society has only to observe that the blame of neglecting to consult it rests not with the Editor, but with the person employed to undertake that part of the work, who failed in the performance.

THE BULLS OF CLEMENT VII. FOR THE CONSECRATION OF THOMAS CRANMER TO THE SEE OF CANTERBURY[a].

[I.]

Cranm. Reg. fol. 1–5, b. Bulla provisionis domini Thomæ Cranmeri in archiepiscopum Cant. direct. domino regi.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio, Henrico Angliæ regi illustri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Gratiæ divinæ præmium et humanæ laudis præconium acquiritur, si per seculares principes ecclesiarum prælatis, præsertim pontificali dignitate præditis, oportum favoris præsidium et honor debitus impendatur; hodie sequidem (siquidem) ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc per obitum bonæ memoriæ Wilhelmi olim archiepiscopi Cantuariensis extra Romanam curiam defuncti, pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona dilecti filii Thomæ electi Cantuariensis, nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate providimus, ipsumque illi in archiepiscopum præfecimus et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Cum itaque, fili carissime, sic virtutis opus Dei ministros benigno favore prosequi, ac eos verbis et operibus, pro regis æterni gloria, venerari, majestatem tuam regiam rogamus et hortamur attente, quatenus eundem Thomam electum et ecclesiam prædictam suæ curæ commissam habens, pro nostra et apostolicæ sedis reverentia, propensius commendatos, in ampliandis et conservandis juribus suis sic eos benigni favoris auxilia prosequaris, quod ipse Thomas electus, tuæ celsitudinis fultus præsidio, in commisso sibi

[a] [See above p. 38.]

jure pastoralis officio, possit Deo propitio prosperari ac tibi exinde, adeo perennis vitæ præmium et a nobis condigna proveniat actio gratiarum. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[II.]

Bulla provisionis domini Tho: Cranmer in archiepiscopum Cant. una cum formula juramenti per eum præstiti Romanæ ecclesiæ.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Thomæ electo Cantuariensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Cum nos pridem ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc certo modo pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona tua nobis et fratribus nostris, ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate duxerimus providendum, præficiendo te illi in archiepiscopum et pastorem, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur; nos ad ea quæ ad tuæ commoditatis augmentum cedere valeant, favorabiliter intendentes tuis in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati tibi, ut a quocunque malueris catholico antistite gratiam et communionem apostolicæ sedis habente, accitis et in hoc sibi assistentibus duobus vel tribus catholicis episcopis similes gratiam et communionem habentibus, munus consecrationis recipere valeas, ac eidem antistiti ut, recepto prius per eum a te, nostro et Romanæ ecclesiæ nomine, fidelitatis debitæ solito juramento juxta formam præsentibus annotatam, munus prædictum auctoritate nostra impendere libere tibi possit, plenam et liberam earundem tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem. Volumus autem, et auctoritate prædicta statuimus, et decernimus, quod si non recepto a te per ipsum antistitem prædicto juramento, idem antistes munus ipsum tibi impendere et tu illud suscipere præsumpseritis, dictus antistes a pontificalis officii exercitio, et tam ipse quam tu ab administratione tam spiritualium quam temporalium

ecclesiarum vestrarum suspensi sitis eo ipso. Præterea volumus quod formam hujusmodi a te tunc præstiti juramenti, nobis de verbo ad verbum per tuas patentes literas, tuo sigillo munitus, per proprium nuncium quam totius destinare procures. Forma autem juramenti quod præstabis, hæc est:

Ego Thomas, electus Cantuariensis ab hac hora inantea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ac domino nostro domino Clementi papæ vii°, suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur, aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur quovis quæsito colore; consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios, seu literas ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam; papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem; legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romanam ecclesiæ domini nostri papæ et successorum prædictorum conservare et defendere, augere, et promovere curabo. Nec ero in consilio facto vel tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialiæ personarum juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinentur; et si talia a quibuscunque procurari novero vel tractari, impediam hoc pro posse et quam totius potero, commode significabo eidem Domino nostro vel alteri, per quem ad ipsius notitiam prevenire possit; regulas sanctorum, patrum decreta, ordinationes, sententias, dispensationes, reservationes, provisiones et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari; hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles Domino

nostro et successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione; apostolorum limina, Romana curia existente citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis, visitabo aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia; possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infendabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano pontifice: sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo octavo kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[III.]

Bulla absolutionis domini Thomæ Cranmer in archiepiscopum Cant. electi a quibuscunque sententiis excommunicationis, suspensionis, interdicti, &c.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Thomæ Cranmer, archidiacono de Tawnton in ecclesiæ Wellensi, magistro in theologia, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: apostolicæ sedis consueta clementia, ne dispositiones, per eam de metropolitanis ecclesiis pro tempore factæ, valeant quomodolibet impugnari, sed personæ ad eas promovendæ illis puro corde et sincera conscientia præsidere possint, remedia, prout convenit, adhibet opportuna. Cum itaque nos hodie ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, ad præsens certo modo pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona tua nobis et fratribus nostris, ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate providere, teque illi in archiepiscopum et pastorem perficere intendamus; nos, ne si forsan aliquibus sententiis, censuris, et pœnis ecclesiasticis ligatus sis, provisio et prefectio valeant invalidæ reputari, providere; volentes te a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et pœnis a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel

causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existis, ad hoc duntaxat, ut, provisio et præfectio, prædictæ ac singulæ literæ apostolicæ desuper conficiendæ suum sortiantur effectum, auctoritate prædicta, tenore præsentium, absolvimus et absolutam fore nunciamus, non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac dictæ ecclesiæ juramenti confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia, roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ absolutionis et nunciationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[IV.]

Bulla provisionis domini Thomæ Cranmer in archiepiscopum Cant., ad petitionem domini regis Henrica octavi.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Thomæ electo Cantuariensi salutem et benedictionem: divina disponente clementia, cujus inscrutabili providentia ordinationem suscipiunt universa in apostolicæ dignitatis specula, meritis licet imparibus constituti, ad universas orbis ecclesias aciem nostræ considerationis extendimus, et pro earum statu salubriter dirigendo, apostolici favoris auxilium adhibemus. Sed de illis propensius cogitare nos convenit, quas propriis carere pastoribus intuemur, ut eis juxta cor nostrum viri præficiantur idonei, qui commissos sibi populos per suam circumspectionem providam et providentiam circumspectam salubriter dirigant et informent, ac bona ecclesiarum ipsarum non solum gubernent utiliter, sed etiam multimodis efferant incrementis. Dudum siquidem bonæ memoriæ Willielmo archiepiscopo Cantua-

riensi regimini ecclesiæ Cantuariensi præsidente, nos, cupientes eidem ecclesiæ, cum vacaret, per apostolicæ sedis providentiam utilem et idoneam præsidere personam, provisionem ejusdem ecclesiæ ordinationi et dispositioni nostræ duximus ea vice specialiter reservandam, decernentes extunc irritum et inane, si secus super his per quoscumque quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contingeret attemptari; postmodum vero, præfata ecclesia per obitum ejusdem Willielmi, qui extra Romanam curiam debitum naturæ persolvit, pastoris solatio destituta, nos, vacatione hujusmodi fide dignis relatibus intellecta, ad provisionem ejusdem ecclesiæ celerem et felicem, de qua nullus præter nos hac vice se intromittere potuit, sive potest, reservatione, et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, ne ecclesia ipsa longe vacationis exponatur incommodis, paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem, quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesiæ personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad te archidiaconum de Tawnton in ecclesia Wellensi, magistrum in theologia, in presbyteratus ordine constitutum, pro quo carissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Angliæ rex illustris nobis super hoc humiliter supplicavit, et cui apud nos de vitæ munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia et temporalium circumspectione, aliisque multiplicum virtutum donis, fide digna testimonia perhibentur, direximus oculos nostræ mentis, quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis, de persona tua nobis et fratribus ipsis, ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta præfatæ ecclesiæ de eorundem fratrum consilio, apostolica auctoritate providemus, teque illi in archiepiscopum præficimus et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, in illo qui dat gratias et largitur præmia, confidentes quod, dirigente Domino actus tuos,

præfata ecclesia sub tuo felici regimine regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur, ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Jugum igitur Domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens, curam et administrationem prædictas sic exercere studeas solicite, fideliter, et prudenter, quod ecclesia ipsa gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam; tuque, præter æternæ retributionis præmium, nostram et apostolicæ sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kalend. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[V.]

Bulla suffraganeis Cant.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus universis suffraganeis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Hodie ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc per obitum bonæ memoriæ Willielmi olim archiepiscopi Cantuariensis extra Romanam curiam defuncti, pastoris solatio destituæ, de persona dilecti filii Thomæ electi Cantuariensis, nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate providimus, ipsumque illi in archiepiscopum præfecimus et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Quocirca universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus, et hortamur attente, per apostolica scripta vobis mandantes, quatenus eidem Thomæ electo, tanquam membra capiti, obsequentes, adhibeatis ei obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas, ita quod mutua inter vos et ipsum gratia gratos sortiatur effectus, et nos devotionem vestram possumus propterea in Domino merito commendare. Datum Bononiæ, anno in-

carnationis Dominicæ, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[VI.]

Bulla clero civitatis et dioc. Cant.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis, clero civitatis et dioceseos Cantuariensis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Hodie ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc per obitum bonæ memoriæ Willielmi olim archiepiscopi Cantuariensis extra Romanam curiam defuncti, pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona dilecti filii Thomæ electi Cantuariensis nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate providimus, ipsumque illi in archiepiscopum præfecimus et pastorem curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Quocirca discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eidem Thomæ electo tanquam patri et pastori animarum vestrarum humiliter intendentes, ac exhibentes sibi obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas, ejus salubria monita et mandata suscipiatis humiliter et efficaciter adimplere curetis, alioquin sententiam, quam idem Thomas electus rite tulerit in rebelles, ratum habebimus et faciemus, auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[VII.]

Bulla capitulo ecclesiæ Cant.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis capitulo ecclesiæ Cantuariensis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Hodie ecclesiæ vestræ Cantuariensi, tunc

per obitum bonæ memoriæ Willielmi olim archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona dilecti filii Thomæ electi Cantuariensis, nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate providimus, ipsumque illi in archiepiscopum præfecimus et pastorem curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Quocirca discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus eidem Thomæ electo tanquam patri et pastori animarum vestrarum humiliter intendentes, ac exhibentes sibi obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas, ejus salubria monita et mandata suscipiatis humiliter et efficaciter adimplere curetis; alioquin sententiam, quam idem Thomas electus rite tulerit in rebelles, ratam habebimus, et faciemus, auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[VIII.]

Bulla vassallis ecclesiæ Cant.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis universis vassallis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Hodie ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc per obitum bonæ memoriæ Willielmi olim archiepiscopi Cantuariensis extra Romanam curiam defuncti, pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona dilecti filii Thomæ electi Cantuariensis, nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate providimus, ipsumque illi in archiepiscopum præfecimus et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ sibi in spiritualibus et tempo-

ralibus plenarie committendo, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Quocirca universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Thomam electum tanquam patrem et pastorem animarum vestrarum devote suscipientes et debita honorificentia prosequentes, ei fidelitatem solitam necnon consueta servitia et jura sibi a vobis debita exhibere integre studeatis; alioquin sententiam sive pœnam, quam idem Thomas electus rite tulerit sive statuerit in rebelles, ratum habebimus et faciemus, auctore Domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri decimo anno.

[IX.]

Bulla populo civitatis et dioc. Cant.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis populo civitatis et dioceseos Cantuariensis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Hodie ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc per obitum bonæ memoriæ Willielmi olim archiepiscopi Cantuariensis extra Romanam curiam defuncti, pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona dilecti filii Thomæ electi Cantuariensis, nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate providimus, ipsumque illi in archiepiscopum præfecimus et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Quocirca universitatem vestram monemus et hortamur, attende vobis per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatenus eundem Thomam electum tanquam patrem et pastorem animarum vestrarum devote suscipientes et debita honorificentia pertractantes, ejus monitis et mandatis salubribus humiliter intendatis; ita quod ipse

Thomas electus in vobis devotionis filios et vos in eo per consequens pacem benevolum invenisse gaudeatis. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, nono kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[X.]

Bulla destinationis pallii.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Thomæ electo Cantuariensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum nuper ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc certo modo pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona tua nobis et fratribus nostris, ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum, accepta de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate duxerimus providendum, præficiendo te illi in archiepiscopum et pastorem, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur; ac postmodum pallium insigne videlicet plenitudinis pontificalis officii, ex parte tua fuerit a nobis per dilectum filium, magistrum Franciscum Coluccium de Piscia, literarum apostolicarum scriptorem, familiarem nostrum, nuncium tuum, cum ea qua decuit instantia postulatum; nos, tuis supplicationibus annuentes pallium ipsum, de corpore beati Petri sumptum, per venerabiles fratres nostros, archiepiscopum Eboracensem et episcopum Londoniensem tibi assignandum per præfatum nuncium tuum duximus destinandum; ut iidem archiepiscopus et episcopus, vel eorum alter, illud tibi, postquam munus consecrationis susceperis assignent, et a te, nostro et Romanæ ecclesiæ nomine, sub forma quam eis sub bulla nostra mittimus introclusam fidelitatis debitæ solitum recipiant juramentum. Tu autem illo intra ecclesiam tuam illis diebus dumtaxat utaris, qui expresse in ipsius ecclesiæ privilegiis continentur. Ut igitur signum non discrepet a signato, sed quod geris exterius, interius serves in mente discretionem tuam, monemus

et hortamur, attente tibi per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatenus humilitatem et justitiam, dante Domino, qui dat præmia et munera elargitur, observare studeas, quæ suum servant et promovent servatorem, et Cantuariensem ecclesiam sponsam tuam cures solicite, auctore Domino, spiritualiter et temporaliter augmentare. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundi; quinto nonas Martii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

[XI.]

Bulla ad tradendum pallium domino archiepiscopo Cant.

Clemens, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopo Eboracensi et episcopo Londoniensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem: Cum pallium, insigne videlicet plenitudinis pontificalis officii ex parte dilecti filii Thomæ electi Cantuariensis, de cujus persona nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, nuper ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, tunc certo modo pastoris solatio destitutæ, de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate duximus providendum, præficiendo ipsum illi in archiepiscopum et pastorem, prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur, per dilectum filium, magistrum Franciscum Coluccium de Piscia, literarum apostolicarum scriptorem, familiarem nostrum, nuncium suum fuerit a nobis cum ea qua decuit instantia postulatum; nos, ipsius Thomæ electi precibus annuentes, pallium ipsum, de corpore beati Petri sumptum, per vos vel alterum vestrum assignandum, eidem secundum formam quam vobis sub bulla nostra mittimus introclusam, per præfatum nuncium duximus destinandum. Quocirca fraternitati vestræ, per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus vos vel alter vestrum pallium ipsum, juxta præmissam formam, sibi assignare curetis, et ab ipso, nostro et Romanæ ecclesiæ nomine, sub forma, quam

vobis sub eadem bulla dirigimus, fidelitatis debitæ solitum recipiatis, seu alter vestrum recipiat juramentum. Formam autem juramenti, quod dictus Thomas electus præstabit nobis de verbo ad verbum per ejus patentes literas sub sigillo munitas per proprium nuncium quantocius destinare curetis. Datum Bononiæ, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo, quinto nonas Martii pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

Ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis, et beatæ Mariæ virginis ac beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et domini nostri domini Clementis Septimi et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, necnon Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tibi tradimus pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, plenitudinem videlicet pontificalis officii, ut eo utaris infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis et ab apostolica sede concessis.

Articulus Consecrationis Thomæ Cranmer, archiep. scopi Cant.

In Dei nomine, Amen! Per præsentis publici instrumenti seriem cunctis appareat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo tertio, indictione sexta, regni illustrissimi, metuendissimi, ac invictissimi principis et domini nostri supremi, Henrici Octavi, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regis, fidei defensoris, et domini Hiberniæ excellentissimi, anno vicesimo quarto, mensis vero Martii, die tricesimo, in domo capitulari collegii regii sancti Stephani prothomartyris, prope palatium regium Westmonasteriense, London. diocesi notorie situatum, constitutus personaliter reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Thomas in Cantuar. archiepiscopatum, ut dicebat, electus, in mea prothonotarii regii ac notarii subscripti ac venerabilium virorum, magistrorum Joannis Tregonwell, legum doctoris, et Thomæ Bedyll clerici a consiliis dicti domini nostri regis, Ricardi Gwent, decretorum doctoris, curiæ Can-

tuar. officialis principalis, et Joannis Cocks, legum doctoris, dicti reverendissimi patris audientiæ causarum et negotiorum auditoris, ac vicarii in spiritualibus generalis, testium in hac parte specialiter adhibitorum, præsentia, protestationes quasdam fecit, legit, et interposuit, ac cætera fecit, prout in quadam papyri schedula, quam tunc ibidem in manibus suis tenuit et perlegit, plenius continebatur; cujus quidem schedulæ verus tenor, nihil addito vel dempto, de verbo ad verbum sequitur, et est talis:

In Dei nomine, Amen! Coram vobis autentica persona et testibus fide dignis hic præsentibus, Ego Thomas, in Cantuar. archiepiscopatum electus, dico, allego, et in his scriptis palam, publice, et expresse protestor, quod, cum juramentum, sive juramenta ab electis in Cantuar. archiepiscopos summo pontifici præstari solita, me ante meam consecrationem aut tempore ejusdem, pro forma potius quam pro esse, aut re obligatoria, ad illam obtinendam oporteat, non est, nec erit, meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercumque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem posthac dicendum, faciendum, aut attemptandum, quod erit, aut esse videbitur, contra legem Dei, vel contra illustrissimum regem nostrum Angliæ aut rempublicam hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve aut prærogativas ejusdem, et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovismodo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam in omnibus et singulis, reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæve commoditatem quoquomodo concernentem, et ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur; et secundum hanc interpretationem

et intellectum hunc, et non aliter, neque alio modo dicta juramenta me præstaturum protestor et profiteor; protestorque insuper quodcunque juramentum sit, quod meus procurator summo pontifici, meo nomine, antehac præstitit, quod non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod juramentum, meo nomine, præstare potuerit, contrarium aut repugnans juramento, per me præstito aut imposterum præstando præfato illustrissimo Angliæ regi; et casu quo aliquod tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum, meo nomine præstitit, protestor quod illud me inscio et absque mea auctoritate præstitum, pro nullo et invalido esse volo. Quas protestationes in omnibus clausulis et sententiis dictorum juramentorum repetitas et reiteratas volo, a quibus per aliquod meum factum vel dictum quovismodo recedere non intendo, nec recedam; sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis præmissis dictus reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et notarium prædictum, unum vel plura, publicum seu publica, instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes superius nominatos testimonium perhibere rogavit et requisivit; et deinde die, mense, et anno prædictis, dictus reverendissimus dominus Thomas electus, in mea et prælibatorum venerabilium virorum præsentia, testium ad hoc coram adhibitorum, dictus dominus capitularem exivit, ac ad gradus summi altaris dicti collegii, vestibus sacerdotalibus amictus, ad recipiendum munus consecrationis perrexit, ac ibidem coram reverendo in Christo patre, domino Johanne permissione divina Lincolniensi episcopo, pontificalibus induto, supra cathedram honorifice ornatam sedente, reverendis patribus Johanne Exoniensi et Henrico Assavensi episcopis, eidem Lincolniensi episcopo in actu con-

secrationis dicti reverendissimi electi assistentibus, genibus innixus, quandam pergameni schedulam tenoris subsequentis, viz;

In Dei nomine, Amen! Ego Thomas, electus Cantuariensis, ab hac hora inantea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ac domino nostro domino Clementi papæ septimo suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus; non ero in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur, aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur quovis quesito colore; consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios seu literas ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam; papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem; legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo; jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romanæ ecclesiæ, domini nostri papæ, et successorum prædictorum conservare et defendere, augere, et promovere curabo; nec ero in consilio vel tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur; et si talia a quibuscunque procurari novero vel tractari, impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero, commode significabo eidem domino nostro vel alteri, per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit; regulas sanctorum, patrum decreta, ordinationes, sententias, dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari; hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo; vocatus ad

synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione; apostolorum limina Romana curia existente citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis visitabo aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia; possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam nec donabo nec impignorabo, neque de novo infendabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano pontifice: sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia!

Manibus suis tenens, ante lecturam ejusdem schedulæ et juramenti in eadem contenti præstationem, in mea et eorundem testium præsentia, asseruit et protestatus est se dictam schedulam lecturum, ac juramentum inibi insertum præstiturum, sub præmissis protestationibus aliis per eundem eodem die in dicto domo capitulari, in mea et eorundem testium præsentia habitis et factis et non aliter neque alio modo. Et incontinenter, post præmissa, eandem schedulam perlegit, et, ut in eadem continetur, juravit, super quibus assertione et protestatione per eundem, modo præmisso, tunc ibidem factis, unum vel plura, publicum seu publica, exinde conficere instrumentum sive instrumenta, ac testes præscriptas testimonium perhibere etiam tunc ibidem rogavit et requisivit.

Quibus sic pactis die, mense, et anno prædictis, ac solemni consecratione ejusdem reverendissimi patris finita et expedita, idem reverendissimus pater, dominus Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ante dictum summum altare pallium recepturus, in mea et dictorum magistrorum Johannis Tregunwell, Thomæ Bedyll, et Ricardi Gwent, testium prædictorum, ad hoc specialiter adhibitorum præsentia, ante præstationem juramenti infrascripti, iterum protestatus est se hujusmodi sequens juramentum, sub eisdem protestationibus, ut præmittitur, in dicto domo capitulari habitis et factis ac superius descriptis, et non

aliter neque alio modo, præstiturum et juraturum; ac ibidem immediate post præmissa, juramentum sub forma quæ sequitur.

In Dei nomine, Amen! Ego Thomas, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, ab ac hora inantea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et domino nostro domino Clementi papæ VII°. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus; non ero de consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione; consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se seu nuncium seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam; papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem; legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione; apostolorum limina Romana curia existentia citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis visitabo aut per me aut meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia; possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam neque donabo neque impignorabo neque de novo infendabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice: sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia, præstitit et juravit.

Super qua protestatione, sic ut præmittitur, per eundem reverendissimum tertio facta et habita, idem reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et notarium publicum subscriptum, unum vel plura, publicum seu publica, instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes prædictos testimonium perhibere de et super eisdem etiam tertio rogavit et requisivit.

Acta fuerunt hæc omnia et singula, prout supra scribun-

tur et recitantur respective, sub anno Domini, indictione, anno regni regis prædictis, mense, die, et loco prædictis, præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris prænominatis, testibus ad præmissa respective, ut præmittitur, adhibitis et requisitis.

Et ego, Richardus Watkins, in legibus bacalaureus, dicti domini nostri regis prothonotarius, quia præmissis omnibus et singulis, dum sic ut præmittitur sub anno Domini et regni Domini nostri regis, mense, die, et loco prædictis agebantur et fiebant, una cum prænominatis testibus præsens personaliter interfui; eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi ac in notam sumpsi; ideo hoc præsens publicum instrumentum manu alterius, (me interim aliter occupato), fideliter scriptum exinde confeci publicum, atque in hanc publicam formam redegi, signoque et nomine meis solitis signavi, rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum.

LETTER OF THE PRIOR AND THE CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY RESPECTING THE CONSECRATION OF EDMUND BONER [b].

Licentia, sive consensus capituli Cant. pro consecratione domini E. Boner extra ecclesiam Christi Cant. Cranm. Reg. fol. 259, b. 260.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino domino Thomæ permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, atque adinfra scripta auctoritate parliamenti hujus inclyti regni Angliæ sufficienter et legitime fulcito, vestri humiles et devoti filii, Thomas, prior, et capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ metropoliticæ Christi Cantuariensis obedientiam et reverentiam

[b] [See above, pp. 197, 198.]

tanto reverendissimo patri debitas cum honore: Licet antiquitus fuerit salubriter ordinatum, hactenusque in et per totam vestram provinciam Cantuariensem inconcusse observatur, quod quilibet suffraganeus ecclesiæ vestræ Cantuariensis memoratæ, in eadem vestra ecclesia metropolitana Cantuariensi et non alibi præsentialiter consecrari et benedici consuevit et deberet, nisi de consensu communi totius nostri capituli Cantuariensis fuerit obtentum, quod suffraganeus hujusmodi alibi quam in ecclesia vestra prædicta consecrari et benedici debeat; ut tamen venerabilis vir Edmundus Boneir, dudum Herfordensis, nunc Londoniensis postulat et confirmat, in quocunque oratorio vel capella vestro arbitrio elegenda, assignanda et deputanda extra ecclesiam vestram Cantuariensem consecrari et benedici valeat et possit, quantum in nobis est, nostrum ad hoc, tenore præsentium, damus consensum pariter et assensum, recepto ab eodem electo sufficienti cautione, quod hujusmodi gratia seu licentia nostra specialis, in hac parte sibi facta sive fienda, nobis vel ecclesiæ vestræ in nullum cedat præjudicium in futurum; et reservata nobis capsula decenti, qualem quilibet suffraganeus ecclesiæ vestræ Cantuariensis, ratione professionis suæ, eidem ecclesiæ de jure et antiqua consuetudine solvere tenetur, ratum habitur et gratum, quicquid per vos actum, concessum, seu expeditum fuerit in præmisso; juribus, privilegiis, libertatibus, et cæteris consuetudinibus ecclesiæ vestræ prædictæ in omnibus semper salvis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune præsentibus est appensum. Datum in domo nostra capitulari, secundo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo XL.

BONER'S OATH OF FIDELITY TO THE KING AGAINST THE BISHOP OF ROME.

Cranm. Reg. fol. 260, b. Juramentum præstitum per dominum E. Boner.

Ye shall never consent nor agree, that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm or any other the king's dominions, but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your powers; and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your powers, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes, made and to be made within this realm in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome and his authority; and all other acts and statutes, made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head in earth of the Church of England; and this ye shall do against all manner of persons of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be; and in no wise do, nor attempt, nor to your powers suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence; and in case any oath be made, or hath been made by you to any persons or person in maintenance or favour of the bishop of Rome or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, ye repute the same as vain and annihilate: so help you God, all saints, and the holy evangelists!

✠ In fidem præmissorum Ego Edmundus Boneir, elect. et confirmat. Londonien. huic præsenti chartæ subscripsi.

READER,

My reverend friend, Mr. Wharton[a], as he formerly encouraged and assisted me in the foregoing History, hath also further obliged me by the perusal of it, and by communicating to me his ingenious and learned observations and animadversions thereupon; which do highly deserve to be made more public; and therefore are here gladly added by me, (together with his letter), as a supplement to my book for the reader's benefit.

TO THE REVEREND MR. STRYPE.

SIR,

AT the desire of Mr. Chiswell, our common friend, I have perused your Memorials of archbishop Cranmer, *not without great satisfaction; being much pleased to see the actions of that excellent prelate, and the affairs of the reformation of our church, happily begun and carried on in his time, and by his conduct, disposed in so clear a method. I have not been able to make my observations upon it with that exactness and fulness which I desired, and you may perhaps expect; being at this time placed at a very great distance from all my papers and collections, and not enjoying the use even of such printed books as would be necessary to this design: so that I have been forced to pass by very many places of your history, wherein I have suspected some error to have been committed, but could not either confirm or remove my suspicion, for want of farther present evidence. However, I have noted several places, which at first reading appeared suspicious, and after farther consideration, were*

[a] ["Henry Wharton, divine, author of "Anglia Sacra;" was born at Worstead, Norfolk, A.D. 1664; and died 1694, 5." See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii. p. 494. ed. Lond. 1840.]

judged erroneous by me; although even in some of those places I have only pointed at the error, not being able always to rectify it, without the assistance of books and papers, whereof I am now wholly destitute. Be pleased to accept of my performance herein with that candor, wherewith I read your book, and made the following observations; since I willingly profess, that the commission of errors in writing any history, especially of times past, being altogether unavoidable, ought not to detract from the credit of the history, or merit of the historian; unless it be accompanied with immoderate ostentation, or unhandsome reflections upon the errors of others; from which imputation, that indifference and candor which appear throughout your whole work, wholly exempt you; although no history of those matters or times, which I have seen, be wrote with equal exactness.

Page 16, l. 4. [31, l. 1][b]. "It is the sense of an ingenious and learned friend of mine, that the pretended martyr Thomas Becket, though he died in vindication of the privileges of the church, yet he was the first betrayer of the rights of his see; viz. of Canterbury. He made the greatest breach upon the authority of the primacy of Canterbury,
254 by resigning the archbishopric into the pope's hands, and receiving it again from him, as the pope's donation."] Thomas Becket was not the first, nor the chief betrayer of the rights of the see of Canterbury. The first and greatest breach upon the authority of the primacy of that see was made by his predecessor William de Corboil[c],

[b] [The figures within brackets refer to the pages of this edition; those preceding them to the edition of 1694. as given by Wharton in his observations and animadversions.]

[c] [William Corboyl, or Corbel, had the see of Canterbury conferred on him by Henry I. Feb. 2, 1122; "he sat almost fourteen years, and died Nov. 21, 1136." —See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 4. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 191, 192. ed. Lond. 1840, 41.]

thirty-seven years before; who, after he had been fully invested in the archbishopric of Canterbury by due authority, solicited and accepted the bulls of pope Honorius [II.], conferring it upon him as by papal gift, and other bulls, constituting him the pope's legate in England; whereby he subjected his own see, and the church of England, to the authority of the see of Rome, which were before wholly independent of it.

Page 21, l. 21. [42, l. 23]. "The twelfth article of Cranmer's judgment of the unlawfulness of king Henry's marriage, is this: *We think that the pretended matrimony of king Henry, &c. hath been and is none at all.*"] You will please to consider, whether the Latin words, *fuisse et esse nullum*, should not have been rather translated, *hath been and is null*, which is the canonical term expressing voidance in law.

Page 23, l. 44. [48, l. 1]. "Licenses were granted this year (1533.) to the lady Guilford, and to the marchioness of Dorset in 1534, to have the eucharist, &c. ministered to them in their private chapels. Whether indulged to them by the archbishop, the rather to free them from danger for not frequenting their parish-churches, and for the avoiding the superstitious and idolatrous worship there performed, &c. or only for the convenience of those ladies, the reader hath liberty to judge."] The archbishop cannot be hence supposed to have countenanced any separation from the parochial worship of that time, or to have insinuated his judgment of the danger, superstition, or idolatry of the public worship then used; since such licenses were customary acts, very frequent before and at that time. Many hundreds of them may be found among the faculties granted by the predecessors of this archbishop more than two hundred years upwards. Private oratories

were then more used, and domestic chaplains entertained in much greater number than in latter times: yet none then presumed to make use of either, without license first obtained of their diocesans: which discipline was formerly observed by all strictly, and continued in great measure till the time of archbishop Abbot[d], although now little regarded. So that hereby archbishop Cranmer gave no occasion for any such conjecture as is here made, any more than archbishop Parker did, when he granted a like license to his own wife, although she was no puritan, or separatist from the established worship.

Page 25, l. 40. [52, l. 11]. "This year, 1534, all the learned and spiritual men in England subscribed to it with their hands, that the pope hath no jurisdiction in this kingdom. The archbishop's church in Canterbury began; for the prior and convent thereof solemnly subscribed an instrument for abolishing the pope's supremacy, &c. The original whereof is in a volume of the Cotton library."] The right reverend the bishop of Salisbury, in his History of the Reformation, giveth two or three such instruments of the subscription of so many particular convents, and supposeth that no more remain, but that all the rest were in the reign of queen Mary destroyed by bishop Boner, by virtue of a commission granted to him for razing of scandalous records. In truth, all those instruments do yet remain, and are a most authentic justification of the proceedings of the king in abolishing the papal supremacy. The originals of them do yet remain in their proper place, the king's exchequer, into which they were at first returned, and where they have been hitherto kept.

[d] [George Abbot, successively bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and London, and nominated by James I. to the archbishopric of Canterbury, March 4, 1610. He died August 4, 1633, ætat. 71.—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 9, 125, 181.]

There are in my hands no less than one hundred seventy-five such instruments, transcribed long since from thence, containing the subscriptions of all the bishops, chapters, monasteries, colleges, hospitals, &c. of thirteen dioceses. The subscriptions of those of the other nine dioceses are to my certain knowledge yet remaining in another place, but I have not yet gained copies of them. Some of these instruments have been transcribed into the volume of the Cotton library here mentioned; but that is only a transcript, containeth not the originals, as is here supposed. Nor did the church of Canterbury begin the subscription; for however the instrument of that church may be placed first, upon account of the preeminence of it, the instru- 255
ments of several religious houses, even in that diocese, are dated before it.

Page 29, l. 31. [61, l. 22]. "Nix bishop of Norwich died two years after, September 1534, and came in to be bishop in the year 1500."] He died in the middle of January, $153\frac{5}{6}$; and was consecrated bishop in April, 1501.

Page 32, l. 6. ab imo. [67, l. 27]. "The archbishop began his provincial visitation *jure metropolitico*, the last year, 1534. It was somewhat extraordinary; for such a visitation had not been in an hundred years before.——The diocese of Winchester having been visited but five years ago by his predecessor Warham."] The archbishop, in his letter in answer to the bishop of Winchester, in the Appendix, page 21. [354,] saith truly, that the diocese of Winchester was visited by his predecessor Warham the third year before this. But when he addeth, that else it had not been visited by any of his predecessors these forty years, he is to be understood cautiously. For although perhaps it had not been visited by any archbishop since the death of bishop Langton, which was in the year 1493, yet it had

been visited *metropolitico* by the chapter of Canterbury, in the beginning of the year 1501. Again, when it is said from bishop Stokesly's letter in the Appendix, page 22. [357,] that such a provincial visitation had not been held by any of the archbishop's predecessors in an hundred years before; this also is to be understood dexterously. For men in their juridical answers are wont to allege any thing which may seem to make for their cause, little regarding whether it be exactly true or no. It is true, the archbishops of Canterbury had not for so long a time undertaken or performed a metropolitical visitation of their whole province at one time; but they had often within that time visited particular dioceses *jure metropolitico;* which was a sufficient precedent to the cause then in hand.

Page 36, l. 32. [75, l. 13]. "Suffragan bishops were not unusual in the realm.—To give some instances of them.—Certain, bearing the title of bishops of Sidon, assisted the archbishops of Canterbury. One of these was named Thomas Wellys, prior of St. Gregory's by Canterbury; he, being archbishop Warham's chaplain, was sent by him, &c.—There was afterwards one Christopher that bore that title, and assisted archbishop Cranmer about these times (1535) in ordinations; and another Thomas, entitled also of Sidon, succeeded."] It should seem to be here supposed, that the suffragans of the diocese of Canterbury did then commonly take their titles from Sidon; whereas indeed none of them, (save that Thomas Wellys here mentioned), was entitled from thence. As for Christopher, he was not suffragan to the archbishops of Canterbury; and that other Thomas of Sidon was in Cranmer's time suffragan to the bishops of London. That Thomas Wellys moreover, who was prior of St. Gregory's, and titular bishop of Sidon, was not chaplain to archbishop

Warham; for archbishops never entertained regulars in the quality of chaplains. Archbishop Warham had indeed a chaplain of that name, but he was neither prior nor bishop, but a secular, doctor of divinity, and rector of Chartham, near Canterbury.

Page 36, l. 47. [76, l. 10]. "Long before these, I find one William Botlesham, episcopus Navatensis, anno 1382. at the convocation in London, summoned against the Wicklivites."] If this were a titular bishop only, he had nothing to do in the convocation, nor any right to be summoned to it. That Willielmus Botlesham, episcopus Navatensis, was in truth no other than Willelmus, episcopus Landavensis, bishop of Landaff, whose title of *Landavensis* the ignorance or mistake of the scribe changed into *Navatensis*. By a like mistake, very frequent in our ancient records, the bishop of Lincoln, *Lincolniensis*, is corruptly styled *Nicoliensis*.

Page 37, l. 6. [76. l. 23]. "John Thornden, who was often commissary of Oxon, while archbishop Warham was chancellor of that university, was styled episcopus Syrinensis."] His name was John Thornton. Many years after him, Richard Thornden was suffragan bishop in the diocese of Canterbury. In Thornton endeth the catalogue of suffra- 256
gan bishops, which you could find, consecrated before the time of archbishop Cranmer, being in all seven. If it pleaseth God to permit me to finish my *Anglia Sacra*, I shall exhibit a perfect succession of suffragan bishops in almost all the dioceses of England, for about two hundred years before the reformation.

Ibid. l. 8. [l. 26]. "And hereafter we shall meet with a bishop of Hippolitanum, who assisted archbishop Cranmer at his ordinations."] It will be hard to find such a city

as Hippolitanum in the world. We had in England many suffragan bishops, who successively assumed the title of bishops of Hippo, the see of the great S. Austin. These were wont to style themselves Hipponenses; but some of them, not being so good grammarians, took the style of Ypolitanenses, and Hippolitanenses; which latter appellation might give occasion to the mistake concerning a bishop of Hippolitanum.

Page 38, l. 3. ab imo. [80, l. 13]. "The king sent to the archbishop to make Thomas Manning suffragan of Gipwich: who was accordingly consecrated by the archbishop."] This Gipwich is no other than Ipswich, the chief town of Suffolk, in Latin called Gipesvicum and Gipwicum; from which place Manning, at his promotion to the office of a suffragan bishop, took his title.

Page 41, l. 3. [84, l. 21]. "This choice treasure, (the original book, containing the subscription of the members of the convocation to certain articles of religion), sir Robert Cotton afterwards procured.—And at the bottom of the first page is written, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus,* by sir Robert's own hand, signifying his value to this monument."] Sir Robert did not by that subscription of his name testify any extraordinary value to this volume; for he wrote the same words at the bottom of the first page of all, or almost all, the manuscript volumes of his library.

Page 50, l. 26. [105, l. 8]. "June—anno 1536. William Rugg was consecrated bishop of Norwich. His consecration is omitted in the register. Probably he was consecrated with Sampson, bishop of Chichester, who was confirmed June 10th."] Rugg could not be consecrated in June, for he was not confirmed till the 28th of that month; and

the first Sunday after that day was July 2d. Bishops were wont to be consecrated on the next Sunday after their confirmation. So that it is most likely Sampson was consecrated June 11th; and Rugg, together with Warton of St. Asaph, on July 2d.

Page 61, l. 2. [134, l. 3]. "It was now forbidden by the parliament, that the feast of St. Thomas à Becket, the pretended martyr, should be celebrated any more." He is also styled Thomas à Becket, page 70, l. 21, and 28. [155, l. 23. page 156, l. 1.] and page 92, l. 4, &c. [209, l. 9, &c.] This is a small error; but being so often repeated, deserveth to be observed and corrected. The name of that archbishop was Thomas Becket; nor can it otherwise be 257
found to have been written in any authentic history, record, calendar, or other book. If the vulgar did formerly, as it doth now, call him Thomas à Becket, their mistake is not to be followed by learned men.

Page 61, l. 18. ab imo. [135, l. 15. "June 24, anno 1537.] John Bird was consecrated suffragan of the see of Penrith, in Landaff diocese; and Lewis Thomas suffragan bishop of the see of Salop."] It should have been said, that Bird was consecrated suffragan of the diocese of Landaff, with the title of bishop of Penrith; and Thomas consecrated suffragan of the diocese of St. Asaph, with the title of bishop of Shrewsbury, (not Salop); for Penrith is no more in Landaff diocese, than Shrewsbury is in that of St. Asaph. But it may be observed, that in the first act of parliament made in this reign touching suffragan bishops, certain titles were appointed, to which the said suffragans should be consecrated, taken from several of the chief towns in England; but it was not required that the suffragan of any particular diocese should take his title from some

town in that diocese, but was left at liberty to take it from any town mentioned in that act. Which was accordingly practised indifferently till the promulgation of the second act concerning suffragans.

Page 62, l. 8. [138, l. 32]. "The reason why archbishop Cranmer all this while, that is, from the first making the act concerning suffragans in the year 1534, to this time (1537), had nominated none for suffragan to this see (Dover) till now, (when he nominated and consecrated Richard Yngworth in December), might be, because there seemed to be a suffragan already, even the same that had been in the time of archbishop Warham, namely, John Thornton, prior of Dover; who was one of the witnesses appointed by that archbishop to certify what was found and seen at the opening of St. Dunstan's tomb. Richard Thornden seems to have succeeded Yngworth in this office."] St. Dunstan's tomb was opened in April 1508, and Thornden died not till the last year of queen Mary: so that if to Thornton succeeded Yngworth, and to Yngworth succeeded Thornden, there will be no room for any of those three bishops of Sidon, who were before in this history (page 36.) [76.] said to have assisted the archbishops Warham and Cranmer in the quality of suffragan bishops. For the very first of them, Thomas Wellys, was suffragan bishop after the year 1508. I know not when he was made suffragan, or when he died; but I am certain that he survived the year 1511. As for Christopher, and the other, Thomas, bishops of Sidon, they indeed were not the peculiar suffragans of the archbishops of Canterbury, as I before said.

Page 63, l. 28. [140, l. 7]. "March 24, 1537, Henry Holbeach was consecrated suffragan bishop of Bristow, in

the bishop of London's chapel, in the said bishop's house, situate in Lambeth-marsh, by the said bishop, &c."] The bishops of London never had any house situate in Lambeth-marsh, but the bishops of Rochester at that time had; which house was soon after conveyed from the see of Rochester to the crown; and afterwards from the crown by exchange to the see of Carlisle, to which it now belongeth.

Page 86, l. 22. ab. imo. [197, l. 3.] "In this consecration, (of Boner bishop of London, anno 1540.), the prior and chapter of Canterbury insisted, it seems, upon an ancient privilege of their church, which I do not find in this register, (that of archbishop Cranmer), they had at other consecrations done; namely, that the consecration should be celebrated at the church of Canterbury, and at no other church or oratory, without their allowance. And so, in a formal instrument, they gave their license and consent.—— The renewing of this their old pretended privilege looked like some check to the archbishop, and as though they required of him a sort of dependence on them now more than before; and it shewed some secret ill-will towards him."] This privilege was first granted to the prior and chapter of Canterbury by Thomas Becket, but afterwards more amply confirmed to them by St. Edmund the archbishop, in the year 1235[e]; from which time to the present year 1540, I dare confidently aver, that no bishop of the province of Canterbury had been consecrated by the archbishops, or by any other by their commission, in any church or place without the metropolitical church of Canterbury, without license first desired and obtained in writing from the chapter of Canterbury under their seal; if we except only two or three cases between the years

[e] [See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 5.]

1235 and 1300; which were the occasions of great controversies between the archbishops consecrating, and the bishops consecrated, on the one part, and the chapter of Canterbury on the other part; which yet always ended to the advantage of the chapter, and the farther confirmation of their privilege herein. If these licenses be not registered in the archbishops' registers, it is not to be wondered at; it being not their concern to cause those things to be enregistered, which were not essential to the confirmation or consecration of the bishops of their province, but related merely to the privileges of the chapter of Canterbury. But they are all enregistered, and may be found in the registers of that chapter. If therefore the prior and convent of Canterbury did at this time require Boner
258 to take out such a license before his consecration, they thereby gave no more evidence of any sinister design or ill-will against the archbishop, than they had done at any time before to him or any of his predecessors for 300 years, whensoever any bishop of the province was to be consecrated out of their church.

Page 95, l. 18. [217, l. 20]. "Robert King, titular bishop Reonen, suffragan to the bishop of Lincoln, was this year (1541.) consecrated bishop of Oxford. The date, or his consecrators, I cannot assign, the act being omitted in the archbishop's register."] Whensoever a suffragan bishop was promoted to any real bishopric, he had no need of any new consecration, the character and order of bishop having been all along as full, valid, and effectual in him, as in any bishop whatsoever. So that in such a promotion no other form was observed, than in the translation of any bishop from one diocese to another; viz. election and confirmation. But in this case not so much as that was necessary; for the bishopric of Oxford being

then newly erected, King, the first bishop of it, was to be put in possession of it, not by any act of the archbishop's, but by letters patents of the king, the founder of it; which letters were not issued out until the first day of September in the following year.

Page 111, l. 13. [248, l. 25]. "The names of the chief actors, (of a conspiracy against the archbishop), were Thornden, who lived in the archbishop's family, and eat at his table, and with whom he used to converse most familiarly." So also page 121, l. 12. [266, l. 7], "Thornton, who was suffragan of Dover, the archbishop made prebendary of his church, and whom he always set at his own mess." Page 120, l. 5. [264, l. 9.] "Dr. Thornton, who was very great with the archbishop, but secretly false to him." Page 304, l. 7. ab imo. [see vol. iii. in loc.] "This had the suffragan of Dover, Dr. Thornton, done."] In these and other passages of this history the names and persons of Dr. Thornton and Dr. Thornden, both suffragans of the diocese of Canterbury, are confounded. John Thornton, prior of Dover, was suffragan to archbishop Warham, and died in his time. Richard Thornden was monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and at the dissolution of that monastery in 1539, or 1540, and conversion of it into a college of secular canons, was constituted the first prebendary of it, and soon after made suffragan of the diocese, with the title of bishop of Dover; in which office he continued till his death, "ultimo Mariæ." He never lived in the archbishop's family, but in the monastery till the dissolution of it; and after that constantly resided upon his prebend and other benefices which he held in the diocese. You might perhaps find it noted, that the archbishop always set him at his own mess; which might give you occasion to think that he sometimes lived in the arch-

bishop's family: whereas indeed no more was meant thereby, than that the archbishop was wont to shew to him extraordinary respect, whensoever he attended him; for in those days suffragan bishops, however usual, were treated with contempt enough, not wont to be admitted to dine at the archbishop's own table in the hall of the archbishop's palace. There were generally three tables spread in the archbishop's hall, and served at the same time: the archbishop's table, at which ordinarily sate none but peers of the realm, privy counsellors, and gentlemen of the greatest quality. The almoner's table, at which sate the chaplains, and all guests of the clergy beneath diocesan bishops, and abbots. The steward's table, at which sate all other gentlemen. The suffragan bishops then were wont to sit at the almoner's table; and the archbishop, in admitting his suffragan Thornden to his own table, did him an unusual honour; which was therefore noted to aggravate the ingratitude of the man, conspiring against the archbishop.

Page 126, l. 13. [276, l. 34]. "About this time (1544) it was, I conjecture, that the king changed the archbishop's coat of arms; for unto the year 1543, he bore his paternal coat of three cranes sable, as I find by a date set under his arms, yet remaining in a window in Lambeth-house."] Those arms of archbishop Cranmer, here mentioned to remain in a window in Lambeth-house, together with the arms of the other archbishops succeeding to him
259 since the Reformation, and placed in the same window, were painted at the cost of and set up by my lord archbishop Sancroft, not many years since.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

p. 39, l. 2. after "other to" add "the clergy of."

p. 78, ll. 3 and 4. for "John, bishop of Lincoln, and Christopher Sidoniensis assisting," read "John, bishop of London, and Thomas Sidoniensis assisting."

p. 91, l. 9. for "to stable Christian quietness" read "to stablish Christian quietness."

Id. l. 10. for "among the people," read "among us."

p. 105, l. 8. after "William Rugg, a monk, was consecrated bishop of Norwich. This is omitted also, if I mistake not, in the register. Probably he was consecrated with Sampson;" add this note: "Strype and Wharton are both in error here; the order of the consecration of Rugg will be found Cranm. Reg. fol. 212, b. It was performed by the archbishop, assisted by John, (Voisey), bishop of Exeter, and John, (Clerk), bishop of Bath and Wells, Sunday, June 11th, 1536."

p. 111, ll. 28 and 29. for "Erudition of any Christian Man," read "Erudition for any Christian Man."

p. 131, l. 3. from bottom, for "of 1000*l.*" read "of 10,000*l.*"

p. 135. ll. 21 and 22. after "the assistant bishops at this consecration [are] not mentioned in this register:" add this note; "This is an error of Strype: the assistant bishops are stated in Cranm. Reg. fol. 201. to have been John, (Hilsey), bishop of Rochester, and Robert, (Warton), bishop of St. Asaph."

p. 138, l. 4. for "Ungworth," and wherever this name afterwards occurs, read "Yngworth."

p. 139, 2nd paragraph, after "December the 9th, John Hodgkin, professor of divinity, was consecrated at the same time, and by the same bishops as above; but to what see is not mentioned:" add the following note; "This is an error of the author; a full account of the consecration of Hodgkin as suffragan of Bedford is given in Cranm. Reg. fol. 204."

p. 157, ll. 30 and 31. "To the dignity of suffragan within the diocese [province rather] of Canterbury." Erase "diocese" with the brackets, and also "rather."

Id. ibid. after "mentioning no particular see;" add this note; "The king nominated John Bradley by letters patent to be suffragan of Shaftesbury, upon the recommendation of Robert Warton, bishop of St. Asaph, and the consecration to that see took place accordingly, March 23, 1538." Cranm. Reg. fol. 223. a, b.

p. 197, l. 16, et sqq. for "ecclesiæ vestræ metropoliticæ Christi Cantuar'. memoratæ in ecclesia vestra metropolit'. Cantuar'. et non alibi, partialiter consecrari," read, "ecclesiæ vestræ Cantuariensis memoratæ in eadem vestra ecclesia metropolitica Cantuariensi et alibi presentialiter consecrari."

pp. 204, 5. after "Bishops consecrated. April 4th, Edmund Boner, LL.D., bishop of Hereford, consecrated bishop of London, and Nicholas Hethe, consecrated bishop of Rochester, in a chapel in St. Paul's, on the north side of the nave," &c., add the following note: The Cranm. Reg. fol. 259, states that the consecration of these bishops took place "in quodam sacello inferiori juxta septentrionalem partem navis ecclesiæ cathedralis divi Pauli, London. infra pallatium episcopi Londoniensis notorie situato splendide ornato et cultui divino obeundo preparato."

p. 205, l. 8. for "Henry VIII." read "Henry VII."

p. 217, l. 10, et sqq. after "John Chambre, B. D. was consecrated first bishop of Peterborough, October 23, in the cathedral church of Peterborough, in the presbytery there, by John, bishop of Lincoln, Thomas, bishop of Ely, and William, bishop of Norwich, by commission from the archbishop," add the following note: "Of the three bishops here named, Thomas, (Goodrich), bishop of Ely, alone acted, assisted by two bishops; whose names are given in the act of consecration, as Robert Down, and Thomas Filiden, Cranm. Reg. fol. 207, b. It has been conjectured that Thomas Filiden, may mean Thomas Elphin; but no bishop of that name appears to have sat in this see at the time of Chambre's consecration." See Ware's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 204, 633. ed. Dubl. 1764.

p. 227, l. 4, et sqq. transfer i, reference to note, to "Paul Bushe," k, to "Rochester," l, to Westminster," and supply note after "Bedford," "John Hodgkin."

p. 310, l. 3. after "entered in the register," add this note: "Strype has here fallen into an error; in Cranm. Reg. fol. 310. b., it is stated by Anthony Huse, the registrar, that Kitchen was consecrated in his presence and that of others, by the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby), assisted by the suffragan bishops of Sidon and Salop."

p. 396, l. 4. from bottom, after "Anglicanæ," insert "sub Christo."

p. 397, l. 10. for "eorum," read "eorundem."

— l. 16. for "punctare," read "præsentare."

— l. 21. for "ad effectum," read "ad officium."

p. 398, l. 6. for "diœceseos Cantuar." read "Cantuar. diœceseos."

— l. 20. for "celebratione ultime," read "celebratione legitime."

— l. 22. for "forsan vel polluend.," read "forsan seu polluend."